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Sub-Saharan Africa Report



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27 February 1984

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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REPORTAGE ON POLITICAL, SOCIAL SITUATION IN BOCOIO, BENGUELA

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 11 Jan 84 p 3

[Reportage by Jaime Azulay]

[Text] Constantly harassed by henchmen of imperialism, Bocoio municipality and its heroic population have distinguished themselves in the long struggle of resistance for freedom of the Angolan people.

It is a municipality, geographically large, divided into four communes (Monte Belo, Chila, Cubal do Lumbo and Passe) with 55,000 inhabitants. A hospitable and very industrious population, but above all, a fighting population, which every day is in contact with war in its most varied manifestations because it knows that only by waging war will it be able to win peace, which it so desires. If history is a process of winning freedom, pages of courage are being written in Bocoio in a struggle which is an integral part of the fight that the Angolan people are waging for their fatherland. In the last analysis it is also a part of the struggle of freedom against oppression.

Bocoio municipality is one of those in Benguela Province that suffered most from the atrocities of the UNITA puppets. There were times when the bandits, after assassinating defenseless peasants in cold blood, would cut off their heads and stick them on posts along the roads to spread panic and terror. They also destroyed crops and cooperatives, kimboas [translation unknown] and communes. The assaults culminated in the treacherous attack on the capital of the municipality on 21 August 1983. We should also remember the violent massacre of 24 December 1982 when the bandits ambushed and attacked a group of civilian vehicles belonging to the ETP [Public Transport Company] carrying food and industrial goods to the people of the area.

As we can see, there was always, throughout the years, constant action by the bandits against the population of Bocoio. On the one hand, their objective was to block the highway linking Bocoio with Balombo and further in the interior, Huambo and Bie provinces, beginning with roads of Lobito,

and on the other hand to prevent the implementation of development programs in the area, which naturally would mean an improvement in the living conditions of the people.

Thus, with the increase of armed actions the bandits tried to isolate the area from the rest of the province and the country so as later to begin systematic destruction of the infrastructures, crops, cooperatives and peasant associations by mining roads. In sum, to carry out actions to undermine and shed blood and create a climate of instability among the people. This would be suitable for the attempt to implement the plans that imperialism has prepared against the People's Republic of Angola.

That was really a difficult period in the life of the municipality. However, since it could not be otherwise, measures to counter the destructive action of the bandits began to be taken with the adoption of all means. These measures were followed by others such as the reorganization of the defense and security forces, which started the fight against the armed bandits, destroying their shelters and isolating them from the population. The situation is perfectly controlled everywhere in the municipalities. The bandits no longer act with impunity because all the cooperative fields and associations are being defended by the peasants themselves who are a part of the People's Defense Organization. Any destabilizing action that the bandits attempt encounters a fast and deserved response. The enemy has suffered considerable losses because the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and the ODP [People's Defense Organization] have flung themselves fearlessly and violently against the bandits, with a violence that is just and is used in defense of freedom and always in order to guarantee peace and tranquility for the people.

Health Conditions in the Municipality

In the field of health there are some difficulties to be pointed out. The municipal office has seven [male] nurses spread throughout the municipality and no one remembers when a physician last visited Bocoio. The most frequent cases registered are: diarrhea, malaria, bilharziasis and cough. The most serious cases are being evacuated to the capital of the province. Municipal health authorities say that the supply of medications has been very insufficient and those urgently needed at this time are: antimalaria drugs and antibiotics, aspirin, gauze, mercury, sutures and serums. The municipality has a hospital with a 36-bed capacity and there are medical posts in the communes. The municipal health official, Pedro Rufino, told us that the other difficulty is the problem of supplying the hospital because the Ministry of Internal Trade has cut off credit. Since the municipal office does not have any funds, it can be seen that this is a problem that must be solved rapidly by the Health Ministry and the MINCI [Ministry of Internal Trade] because there are patients in the hospital and they have to be fed.

It should be noted that the only vehicle that the municipal health services had was ambushed and destroyed by the bandits.

Ministry of Internal Trade, Supply to the Population

There are 13 stores and sales posts for the population of the municipality. The municipal official Alexandre Carlos told the reporter of ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] that supply is very poor. In the meantime, recently some goods have been supplied allowing the application of the new system of direct barter. According to Alexandre Carlos, this system of marketing has given satisfactory results. In the month of November, 12 tons of corn, 900 kilos of garlic, 1.5 tons of massambala [translation unknown] and various other products were exchanged for shoes, lamps, sugar, oil and other articles. The municipal official of the Ministry of Internal Trade added that in order to obtain better results it will be necessary to add other articles such as clothing, radios, bicycles, motorized vehicles, lucite plates and zinc.

However, we are able to confirm that minimum needs of the population are satisfied. The children are properly clothed and have shoes.

Education

Education is being significantly developed.

It is the sector that has most advanced in the municipality. In the final analysis the objective is to ensure the future. About 10,000 students are enrolled in primary and secondary schools. There are 76 schools and 339 teachers. Officials feel that the present difficulties have been overcome through close cooperation between municipal and provincial offices, which makes possible the conclusion that education and teaching are greatly progressing.

11634

CSO: 3442/259

BENGUELA'S OFFICIALS ASSUME OFFICE; PROVINCE SECTOR ANALYZED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Jan 84 p 4

[Text] Benguela Provincial Commissioner Kundi Payama on Tuesday installed new officials to administer some localities in Benguela Province.

Manuel Lourenco was installed in the post of Bocoio municipal commissioner and Marcolino Epalanga assumed the functions of assistant municipal commissioner of Balombo.

Also installed were officials of Dombe-Grande, Monte Belo, Chicuma and Kapula communes.

The ceremony, which took place at the People's Palace, was attended by members of the party provincial committee and provincial delegates of some ministries.

Assistant Commissioner Analyzes Productive Sector

The Benguela assistant provincial commissioner, Alexandrino Silva, recently said during a meeting with delegates of the productive sector of the province that it is necessary to rebuild, as soon as possible, Lumaum hydroelectric dam destroyed last year by agents at the service of Pretoria.

Alexandrino Silva, who also introduced the new coordinator of the department for the productive sector Joaquim Adriano, analyzed the present situation and pointed out several ways to solve the situation of productive development of the city of Benguela.

Later he said that he was going to form a qualified working force in areas where greater yield of agricultural production can be obtained, as in the Cavaco complex and groups of Anha do Norte in Chongoroi Municipality.

Private capacity in the agricultural sector was characterized by the assistant provincial commissioner as "excellent," because there was more discipline among the private producers and because the delivery of agricultural products was "more or less regular."

As to the industrial sector, he stressed that the province has a large industrial complex which cannot operate fully because of the situation in the country.

"It is possible, in the meantime, to do more in this sector because we have sufficient infrastructure and installed capacity." he said.

In another part of his speech, he said that the Public Transportation Enterprise must be given greater support due to the insufficient means it has at the present.

In the view of the assistant commissioner, the SONANGOL [National Angolan Fuel Company] is facing a critical situation due to insufficient means for the distribution of fuel and lack of lubricants.

As to fishing, he revealed that the fishing fleet will be refloated this year and pointed out the poor conditions of the workers and difficulties in the organization of experts, which are the causes of strangulation of the fishing activity in the province.

The construction sector was characterized as a problem area because due to lack of building material nothing was built.

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DIFFICULT RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL REVIEWED

'Petroleum Prospecting' Issue

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 p 22

[Commentary by Editor Alves Fernandes]

[Text] Relations at the government level between Portugal and some of the countries where the official language is Portuguese are experiencing difficulties in various areas. This is jeopardizing long-established initiatives of mutual benefit and, in particular, preventing Portugal from obtaining particularly significant reciprocal arrangements thanks to influences that had been growing in strength with the overcoming of the disagreements and disputes arising out of the process of so-called exemplary decolonization.

One illustration of that situation is the issue of petroleum prospecting in "Block 4" on Angola's continental shelf, from which the Portuguese have just been excluded. Their exclusion is justified as constituting retaliation by the Luanda government for alleged apathy on the part of Lisbon authorities toward the freedom of movement enjoyed by UNITA's leaders and the receptiveness shown toward Savimbi's organization by many of the media, especially the privately owned press. As a rule, the state-owned press does not accept communiqués from the movement struggling to liberate Angola, nor is it particularly interested in statements by the movement's leaders and representatives.

The truth is that the decision by the Luanda regime to remove PETROGAL from the consortium that will explore for petroleum in a new zone in that country follows insistent protests by the Angolan Government, which, not understanding that a great difference exists between democracy and dictatorship, wanted a total ban on the publication in Portuguese newspapers of texts challenging the MPLA and the government installed in Luanda. Added to that was the fact that Portuguese television sent a reporter to Angola's interior to cover Savimbi's supper with Portuguese who had been captured by UNITA troops. According to official sources, that trip had been "encouraged" by the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although with the intention of seeing to it that no filmed reports of the event were shown on TV--and thus putting itself in the position of being able to demonstrate to Luanda that the government opposes any television coverage of the activities of movements combating the MPLA.

However that may be, the truth is that Luanda's arguments--if we are to believe the version reported by ANOP and in newspapers enjoying excellent relations with the government of Angola--are not sufficiently convincing, considering that during the period when the AD [Democratic Alliance] was in power, excellent results were achieved in negotiations between the two countries (as well as with the other governments of Portuguese-speaking countries) without making an issue of basic questions or compromising the dignity and honor of Portugal. In fact, the talks were always characterized by great realism and pragmatism, and they constituted one of the big successes of the Portuguese foreign policy outlined by Sa Carneiro. Resolution of the disputes owed a lot to that policy and to the commitment shown by the former secretary of state for cooperation, Luis Fontoura, who, when he departed from the government, left relations with the former colonies in a definitely favorable condition.

It needs to be pointed out, however, that all of the above was achieved without any demands like those now being made concerning the ban on publication by the media of activities and actions by UNITA or other organizations fighting the established government in Angola. Of course, discontent was always expressed and complaints were made, but never was this done in radical terms and never did Luanda lay it down as an indispensable condition for agreements that UNITA's propaganda in Portugal must be stopped.

The officials in Luanda knew, incidentally, that they could not adopt such a position with their demands. But they have acted differently with this government: the issue was raised at the meeting in Paris between Paulo Jorge and Jaime Gama, and the Portuguese minister showed the greatest receptiveness. Reportedly, he even "promised" to amend the law so that the government could take action, which it does not do at present because the legislation produced in the period after 25 April [1974], in accordance with the constitutional precept itself, naturally allows action in Portugal against totalitarian regimes, whether they be in Chile, the USSR, Afghanistan, or Sao Tome and Principe.

As for the problem now before us--that of petroleum prospecting--Portugal's participation was secured during a visit to Angola by General Ramalho Eanes and reconfirmed by Luis Fontoura during the negotiations in the autumn of 1982, which included a resolution of the disagreement over SONEFE [National Company for Overseas Project Studies and Financing, Inc.], participation in work to expand the Cambambe Dam, and advantageous cooperation in future petroleum exploration. They also assured the Portuguese of a place in the starting lineup for permission to begin fishing in Angola's territorial waters--thus putting an end to the monopoly held by the Soviets since Portugal's departure. Because of Luanda's new political line, the participations it had promised may be reviewed now that entry into the petroleum consortium has been ruled out and the probability of being able to fish in Angolan waters as planned seems to have been eliminated. Incidentally, the fishing rights could have gone into effect last year.

Crisis With Angola

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 p 4

[Editorial: "The Portuguese Government and the Inevitable Crisis With Angola"]

[Text] The Portuguese Government is facing a crisis with Angola, and it was inevitable that this should happen. Angola is in fact a country involved in civil war, a circumstance that cannot be ignored. It is known that the leader of the pro-Soviet faction in Luanda, Lucio Lara, suggested a few days ago that diplomatic relations with Portugal be broken off on the grounds that UNITA enjoys a privileged position in Lisbon. The faction under President Eduardo dos Santos (which, while also pro-Soviet, is not suffering from the same sectarianism that afflicts Lucio Lara) managed to tone down Lucio Lara's ideological racism, and it was decided simply to break the contracts in effect with Portuguese state-owned firms. That explains PETROGAL's recent exclusion. To understand the crisis better, it is necessary to note that Lucio Lara had succeeded in excluding the moderates in the Catate group, headed by Mendes de Carvalho, from the government and that in the meantime, the Soviet Union had appointed our well-known Arnaldo Kalinine ambassador to Luanda. What this means is that the Portuguese Communist Party has once again achieved great influence in Luanda.

There is nothing the Portuguese Government can do about this situation. It cannot prevent Portuguese reporters from publishing news about UNITA, it cannot expel properly documented Angolan citizens from Portugal, and it cannot prevent the RTP [Portuguese Television System] from sending a reporter to visit UNITA--as part of a French TV crew, incidentally. The only thing the Portuguese Government can do is note that the Luanda government is nervous because of the civil war taking place in its territory. Portugal cannot interfere in Angola's problems. The government must do no more than advise Portuguese businessmen that the situation in Angola is complex and that the country is experiencing a civil war--meaning that Portuguese interests are in danger and that it is not advisable to invest there. They can do business, but on their own responsibility and on the basis of advance payment through a previously guaranteed bank account.

The same does not apply to Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe, where the situation is stable and where, as a consequence, investment is advisable and business can be conducted with no great margin of risk, provided that payments are guaranteed in advance.

The position taken by the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been the correct one. Portugal is not interfering in Angola's internal affairs, but neither can it allow Angola to interfere in Portugal's internal affairs. Portugal is a democracy, and that democracy must be respected, just as the Portuguese Government has always respected the current regime installed in Luanda.

Angolan Envoy To Depart

Lisbon A TARDE in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 p 8

[Text] Quoting diplomatic sources, Radio Renascenca has reported that the Angolan ambassador to Lisbon is awaiting only the order from Luanda before moving to Madrid.

According to the radio station, Van Dunen is only waiting for Luanda to issue a formal note authorizing him to take that step.

According to a spokesman for Luanda's mission in Lisbon, there is no basis for that news report, but it is true that Van Dunen has asked for his accreditation to the Spanish capital, from where, according to Radio Renascenca, he would also represent his country's interests in Portugal.

As reasons for that decision, the sources at the Catholic radio station mention Angola's recent attitude of constant and systematic hostility toward Portugal. As recent and elucidative examples, we have the expulsion of PETROGAL from an Angolan petroleum project, the protests against the presence of an RTP crew in UNITA-controlled areas of Angolan territory, and the protests against the freedom of movement enjoyed by that movement in the Portuguese capital.

As regards the protests relative to the TV crew, it should be mentioned that the TVE [Spanish Television] showed a filmed report from Angolan zones controlled by UNITA not very long ago, but that has not hindered the intentions now being disclosed.

The Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs says it knows nothing about Van Dunen's intention, and Belem Palace also says it knows nothing about the matter. But as an example of the credibility of such denials (in this case, those by the Angolan Embassy), it should be recalled that when Radio Comercial's special correspondent to the summit meeting in Bissau reported Luanda's intention to exclude PETROGAL from the petroleum exploration project, his report was immediately denied. A few days later, his report was confirmed. If the current report by Radio Renascenca turns out to be confirmed (by events)--and we are quoting a government source--we will enter the "final stage in the cooling of Portuguese-Angolan relations." The reason is that such a step can be regarded as the final stage before the rupture of diplomatic relations, since Portuguese diplomatic tradition does not allow our country's interests to be represented through embassies located in other countries. However that may be, the stand taken by Van Dunen is not surprising, considering the MPLA regime's recent provocations of the Portuguese state.

In conclusion, it should be mentioned that we find it odd that Belem Palace insists it knows nothing about the matter, considering the stands adopted by Eanes on cooperation with Angola and the fact that Van Dunen had a face-to-face interview with the president yesterday afternoon.

Meanwhile, it remains to be seen what will happen in the case of the Portuguese ambassador to Angola, Pinto da Franca, who returned to Luanda yesterday after a short vacation.

'Angolan Hysteria'

Lisbon A TARDE in Portuguese 2 Jan 84 p 3

[Editorial: "Angolan Hysteria Against Portuguese TV Reporter"]

[Text] Angolan authorities protested to the Portuguese ambassador in Luanda, Pinto da Franca, last Thursday over the fact that a reporter from the RTP had entered Angola and was heading a French film crew currently covering military operations by UNITA in the southern part of that African country.

The reporter in question, Barata Foyo (of the "Big Feature" program), was present for a few phases of the release of the group of prisoners that returned to Portugal the day before yesterday under the auspices of the International Red Cross. In particular, he covered the Christmas Eve supper on 24 December, which was attended by UNITA's leader himself, Jonas Savimbi, at one of the movement's bases in Cuando-Cubango Province.

The Portuguese ambassador to Luanda was called to the Angolan Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the minister himself, Paulo Jorge. He simply took note of the protest and promised to contact his government in Lisbon at the beginning of this week to obtain clarification.

The irritation felt by officials in Luanda is obvious, because the presence of one more Portuguese reporter with UNITA forces--and, for the first time, one from the RTP--will allow the showing of new pictures of something that MPLA leaders have tried so hard to hide: the victories by Jonas Savimbi's rebel group.

What is startling is that the Angolan Ministry of Foreign Affairs is trying to turn a simple mission by a reporter into a diplomatic problem when it has not applied the same standard to the successive TV crews from the United States, France, and Great Britain that have also gone along on UNITA operations.

It is enough to recall that Gulf Oil (a U.S. firm) is calmly continuing to exploit petroleum in Cabinda, the British are still active in the exploitation of diamonds (DIAMANG [Angola Diamond Company]), and the Luanda government itself has officially informed France that it wants to acquire Alouette helicopters precisely for its fight against UNITA.

It would be appropriate to ask the Luanda government if it is being consistent or merely giving one more obvious indication of its ill will toward Portugal. (See also page 7 of this issue [not included].)

'Dispute' With Angola

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 6 Jan 84 p 36

[Commentary by Antonio Duarte]

[Text] The problem of UNITA's activities in Portugal is only the tip of the iceberg in Angola's current "dispute" with Portugal. Actually, it is much more

a problem of political distrust of the Socialist government headed by Mario Soares--as Angolan sources have in fact told O JORNAL. On the other hand, the Angolan decision to "punish" Portugal can probably also be explained by Soviet pressure on Luanda to draw closer to the "brother countries" in the East.

In the opinion of both Portuguese and Angolan sources, the backdrop to the deterioration in relations between Angola and Portugal included a number of crucial factors.

First, there are UNITA's freedom of expression in Portugal and the impossibility of controlling its movements, and second, there is the eminently political interpretation placed by the Angolans on the fact that Portugal declined to grant the 10-million-conto line of credit to Mozambique. That decision was reached only at the conclusion of Samora Machel's visit to Portugal, and this was also interpreted as a "humiliation of Mozambique." There was also the restrictive credit policy adopted later with respect to Angola, with the Angolan Government having "ascertained" that that policy coincided with the IMF's letter of intent. Third, it is alleged that the current Portuguese leaders are ignorant of African reality and of the way in which to deal with Angolan authorities.

That "ignorance" was supposedly manifested in Jaime Gama's proposal to the five Portuguese-speaking African countries that tricontinental summit meetings be held--a proposal considered "inopportune" and "unsuitable"--and in the mention by Mario Soares of talks between the MPLA and UNITA in his conversations with President Samora Machel (which reportedly resulted in an immediate "freeze" in the dialogue) and with President Mobutu, who, according to Western sources, channels some aid to UNITA.

The distrust of the Socialist government in Portugal probably also has something to do with the "ambiguity" and "conservatism" that Angolan authorities point to in the policy of the Socialist International, notably as a result of the status enjoyed in that organization by Shimon Perez, Israel's Labor Party leader, the coverage given to the establishment of an African Socialist International headed by former President Senghor, and also the alleged relations with the CIA and "obedience" to the United States.

Soviet "Poisoning"

On the Portuguese side, there exists the perception that a "poisoning" of relations between Angola and Portugal is the result of action by the Soviet Union. Portuguese diplomatic circles have not failed to notice that Arnold Kalinine, the former Soviet ambassador to Lisbon, has been at the head of the more important and "sensitive" diplomatic mission in Luanda for 2 months.

On the other hand, it needs to be remembered that the interplay of forces within the MPLA is not always a matter of simple and linear progression. It is clear that the pro-Soviets, among whom the name of Lucio Lara stands out, are now in a favorable position for scoring a few points for their side: Andropov's Soviet Union has significantly increased military and financial aid to Angola (tanks, heavy weapons, and new aircraft from the USSR are continuing to be

unloaded in Luanda), and the Portuguese Government has probably supplied the opponents of cooperation with Portugal with a few arguments in their favor.

Freeze in Cooperation

Although the Portuguese Government persistently reaffirms its condemnations of the South African regime and shows itself to be in favor of independence for Namibia while maintaining its position that the Cubans in Angola are an "internal" question for the Angolans, economic cooperation has not always functioned in the best of conditions.

In the midst of all this political intrigue, a few contradictions stand out: Angola is replacing Portugal with France in the field of petroleum and gradually replacing Portugal with Spain in the case of air connections. But UNITA has an office in Paris with the support of Jacques Chirac, and the FNLA has an office in Madrid with the protection of the Popular Alliance.

This entire political process is favoring French penetration of Angola, with the French using Portuguese emigrants who know the language and young university students whose parents were Portuguese emigrants and who now have some experience in key sectors of cooperation.

Portugal is going to let tensions "cool down" for the time being, but the government wants to take the initiative for "pacification" in the near future.

Over the next few months, Jaime Gama will be spending a lot of his time taking trips to the former Portuguese colonies.

Lopo do Nascimento Avoids Meetings

The thaw in relations will not be easy. This week in Lisbon, Angolan Minister Lopo do Nascimento avoided a meeting with Jaime Gama, and he also failed to visit President Eanes, although we have learned that he did meet with direct associates of the Portuguese president.

Last night, however, the Angolan ambassador to Lisbon, Van Dunen, met with Minister Jaime Gama at Necessidades Palace. The meeting lasted an hour, and Jaime Gama took advantage of it to acquaint the Angolan diplomat with the contents of a message from the Portuguese minister to his counterpart, Paulo Jorge: a message in which the government urges "expanding and maintaining cooperation with Angola."

The meeting, which was held on Jaime Gama's initiative, also gave the Angolan ambassador to Lisbon the opportunity to deny reports that his country's diplomatic mission in Portugal is being transferred to Madrid.

11798

CSO: 3442/275

REPORTER DISCUSSES UNITA'S ACTIVITIES, FAPLA'S PRISONERS

Lisbon 0 DIA in Portuguese 11 Jan 84 p 5

[Article by Eduardo Cintra Torres: "Prosperous Cities of Yesteryear Today are Real 'Ghost Towns.'"]

[Text] Just 4 days before UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] captured the town of Alto Chicapa, the movement's information secretary told NP [Portuguese News] that it was already a "ghost town."

Almerindo Jaka Jamba had reasons to describe Alto Chicapa with these words. Throughout last year, UNITA captured various towns occupied by the MPLA forces in just a few hours of fighting--but after months of encirclement, of operations along the access roads, as well as political mobilization among the populations.

On 29 November, Alto Chicapa, a town about 150 kilometers north of the Benguela Railroad, fell in less than an hour.

Hundreds of soldiers from the "Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola"--the semiregular army of UNITA--climbed the slopes of the hill on which the Portuguese built Alto Chicapa 40 minutes after 0500, the time at which the attack commenced.

As UNITA forces seized it, the town did not in the least resemble what it had been during colonial times.

In the past, a beautiful and prosperous colonial town, in the words of Lt Col Alvaro Mussili, Alto Chicapa on 29 November presented a picture of complete decline.

Both civilian and military installations, including the hospital, were half-destroyed and dirty. A part of the hospital had been turned into a carpentry shop. In the infirmary, medications were stacked in cardboard boxes. In all buildings, the inside and outside walls were covered with "graffitti." The town's two swimming pools--one of them in the home of the former colonial administrator--were lakes full of filth.

The bright colors of the buildings did not conceal the difficulties under which several hundreds of men of the FAPLA (People's Armed Forces for the Liberation

of Angola), the ODP (People's Defense Organization), and Security (the former DISA [Directorate of Security and Intelligence], now the MINSE [Ministry of Security]) existed probably for several months.

The MPLA forces know that UNITA was getting ready to attack the town. Among the documents captured in Alto Chicapa there was an official document listing the movements of UNITA in the area and anticipating its operations. The document was dated 19 November.

On 23 November, the MINSE Provincial Delegate Captain Ekukui sent a "flash" message to the commander of the security forces in the town, telling him to "interrogate all inhabitants to discover the location of (enemy) bases, personnel strength, and available weapons." The message ordered the local leader also to alert young men between the ages of 17 and 30 to join the MINSE "after they have proved that they do not belong to the IN [expansion unknown]."

Other individuals were able to inform the MPLA of an impending attack: Unusual movements by the population in the surrounding villages who easily detected troop movements and the fact that, on the day before, the advancing UNITA forces had captured a member of the paramilitary ODP organization who had gone into the forest to look for honey.

In the meantime, no help came, nor were any special security measures taken. The town was left to its fate. Sergeant Andre, who was taken prisoner on the day of the attack, said that 120 soldiers had deserted from the MPLA forces in recent months. According to an official document found at the headquarters of the commissioner's office, 38 soldiers had deserted in one week in the month of September alone.

Barefoot and Tattered

The sergeant and Lieutenant Bazuka, who preferred to surrender to UNITA, as well as the other nine prisoners, appeared poorly uniformed, barefoot, or with their boots about to fall apart.

Without communications, without clothing, with a civilian population who, according to the prisoners, was hostile, and who used sticks in attacking the soldiers who tried to steal food from them, the barracks at Alto Chicapa were like an armadillo for the very forces which had established them.

UNITA had been preparing the operation since May when a guerrilla force launched a first attack and began to gather elements of information on the military and political situation in the town.

A few tens of kilometers to the West, on the other side of the Cuango River, a brigade of almost 2,000 UNITA men was waiting for the best opportunity to attack.

On 24 November, FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] Brig Gen Geraldo Nunda, 31, left that base on foot, leading his men. The base was almost daily overflowed by Soviet-made aircraft carrying civilian and military personnel from Luanda to Luena (the former Luso).

Just 3 days later, Nunda and his aides explained to the soldiers how the operation would be carried out, using a large-scale model built in a forest clearing.

Advance in Darkness

Most of the information available at that time turned out to be correct but Nunda realized later that the number of MPLA soldiers based in Alto Chicapa had been overestimated.

Although they knew that "there would always be soldiers who desert," the UNITA leaders estimated the total number of government soldiers at about 670. After the attack, Nunda said that not more than 500 men were left in the town and most of them escaped into the forest along the flanks which UNITA deliberately left open with this purpose in mind.

Questioned about the motives as to why he was going to attack several hundred men with a brigade of almost 2,000 men, Nunda said: "In our operational tactics, we use stronger forces to attack weaker forces in order to wipe the enemy out"; this became possible "since we have more units each time."

Another UNITA official said that "we have to operate with twice the forces of the enemy, first of all to reduce casualties and then to guarantee victory."

This is what happened at Alto Chicapa. UNITA claimed to have killed 25 MPLA soldiers and said that it had one dead and two wounded.

Among the MPLA casualties was the security chief, Lt Ernesto Antonio Jamba, and the town commissioner, Antonio Bumba.

Early in the morning of 29 November, a few kilometers from Alto Chicapa, the UNITA soldiers advanced in the dark as if they were just taking a walk. Their laughter was only half muffled and sometimes their jokes made them forget that one of the most important operations in the Province of Lunda would take place shortly.

Caution and Determination

On the "strategic northern front," which covers the Province of Lunda and a part of the province of Malanje, bordered on the south by the Benguela Railroad, the UNITA forces have, since July, seized the towns of Sautar, Quitapa, Luquembo, Cuango, Lui, and Camachilo, the latter twice.

According to Geraldo Nunda, who served in the Portuguese Army for several months prior to 25 April, "we have a total of 5,000 fighting men on that front." More than 3,000 of them are guerrilla fighters divided into "compact units" of about 100-150 men.

The remaining 2,000 are semi-regular forces--practically the entire force that attacked Alto Chicapa.

"The main objective" of the front, until April, according to Nunda, "is control of the provinces of Lunda and Malanje in order thus to open the way to Luanda."

"In line with these objectives, we are going to try to hit strategic targets in order to drive the enemy out of the mines," he added.

The diamond area in the northern part of the province, along the border with Zaire, was mentioned several times as an important UNITA military objective, since it is considered the second most important source of foreign exchange for the Angolan government, after petroleum.

Before attacking the strategic objectives, UNITA is doing political work among the population. The political commissioner in general, by the way, is the number-two man in the military chain of command.

After the town was taken, the civilian population was moved from the town itself--the villages generally sprang up around colonial towns--to the new villages built several kilometers away.

Everything Withdrawn

A day after the capture of Alto Chicapa, more than 1,000 civilians out of the total number of 4,000 civilians who lived around the town "presented themselves to UNITA so as to be organized into zones controlled by the movement," said Nunda.

The brigade's political commissar, Col Mario Chilulo, returned to the area about 2 weeks later to organize the population, far from Alto Chicapa.

Indeed, the town continued to be a ghost town after the 29 November attack.

As it does always, UNITA took everything that could be useful to it, such as medications, weapons (54 individual weapons, one B-10 cannon, 40 handgrenades, 28 RPG-7 [rifles], miscellaneous bombs), school equipment, the electrical generator from the water tower, and documents. Only the walls were left behind.

In this way, according to a UNITA source, one can prevent a future attack by the MPLA forces.

UNITA does not want towns to be targets, by themselves, such as they are for the MPLA, he added.

The government forces and the Cuban contingent are concentrated in the cities and towns. There were no foreign military personnel in Alto Chicapa, a town that was of relative strategic importance.

The FAPLA personnel captured in Alto Chicapa in their statements stressed the resentment with which the Cubans treated the Angolans and remarked that the absence of the Cubans in the town would explain the difficulties they were having there.

Complete Demoralization

Sergeant Andre, who had been serving with the FAPLA since 1976, explained this paradox by saying that they rarely received rations at their post "because we have no Cubans or East Germans here."

Blind-folded and his hands tied behind his back, the sergeant said:

"They eat very well, they are well supplied whereas we depend on the local people who contribute little because they say that they have been stuck with the MPLA for a long time and the MPLA does not help them with their problems."

The statements by the prisoners and the large number of desertions mentioned by them, as well as the ease with which Alto Chicapa was captured, persuaded Nunda to conclude that the main lesson to be learned from this operation was "the complete demoralization of the enemy forces."

The fact that the MPLA forces fled--something which caused dissatisfaction among UNITA soldiers--persuaded Nunda to decide for a series of small, fast combat operations which, he said, would be followed by major operations.

For that, he added, it will only be necessary for UNITA trucks to move north of the Benguela Railroad, plus some battalions.

Several days later, the force which was accompanied by a journalist from NP, met the 417th Battalion, which was going to join Nunda's brigade, in the forest. Several days later, UNITA Col Ben-Ben Arlindo Pena said in Munhango that, a week later, he would send a truck north of the railroad to pick up the generator seized in Alto Chicapa.

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CSO; 3442/271

LUANDA REEXAMINES DECISION ON PORTUGAL

Lisbon DIARIO DE LISBOA in Portuguese 22 Dec 83 p 24

[Text] The Angolan Government has just reviewed its recent decision to cancel the participation of PETROGAL [Angolan Petroleum Company] in an international consortium which would be in charge of exploitation of petroleum on the bloc-4 platform south of Cabinda. According to a DIARIO DE LISBOA report published on the 10th [of December], the Angolan Council of Ministers had taken that measure in compliance with an overall decision to freeze economic relations with Portugal because of facilities for acting granted by the Portuguese government to groups who are enemies of the MPLA.

The information to which we had access points to a reversal by Luanda which is probably due, to a large extent, to the good offices of a petroleum firm linked to Gulbenkian. According to our sources, the change in the Angolan government's position still has not been communicated to the interested parties, nor has the decision to cancel its participation in the consortium.

In spite of not being able to confirm the data that we have, the evolution of the PETROGAL case had to do with contacts made on the occasion of an important meeting between Gulf and the Angolan Ministry of Petroleum which concluded on Monday in a Lisbon hotel.

The negotiations between Gulf and Angola started in the middle of August in Lisbon and everything indicates that during the weekend the parties reached an agreement.

Representing Gulf were five high-ranking executives, while the Luanda government was represented by a national director (a position equivalent to State Secretary) and another official of the Ministry of Petroleum. From what we were able to learn, the continued presence of Gulf Oil in Angola was assured. The existing differences in the field of petroleum exploration, of purchase by the United States, and the means for financial compensation by the Americans were removed.

On the other hand, DIARIO DE LISBOA learned that the reprisals decided upon by the Angolan Government (and which JORNAL DE ANGOLA repeated again by means of statements by Lopo do Nascimento) are to be slowly implemented and, above all, concern with large scale projects.

11634

CSO: 3442/261

REPORTAGE ON WAR HOMELESS IN MOXICO PROVINCE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Jan 84 p 10

[Article by Antonio Sampaio: "How the War's Homeless and the Returnees Live"]

[Text] Luxia, Moxico--Providing material and moral support for the homeless victims of the war and, parallel to that, returning to society those Angolans who had returned from neighboring countries--these are some of the main concerns of the party and government agencies in the Province of Moxico in the social area.

Concerning the war's homeless, that is to say, citizens who left their land and homes, escaping the murderous fury of the South African aggressors and the puppet bands armed by them, the most powerful example is the situation that sprang from the destruction of the township of Cangamba last August.

Following the heavy bombings, the population of Cangamba and Calapo fled to the nearby town of Luxia where, starting on 20 September of last year, the displaced persons had to start a new life under extremely difficult conditions.

Many of them got lost in the forest. Others were widowed or orphaned. Facing a series of difficulties, the displaced persons from Cangamba, numbering more than 3,000, continued firmly to hope some day to be able to return to their land and to rebuild their town.

Dilay Cambala, a deputy in the People's Assembly, recounted some bitter episodes he had experienced: "I escaped from Cangamba on foot after witnessing bloody fighting and the slaughter resulting from the bombings. With the support of FAPLA fightingmen, we found refuge in the community of Calapo, a town which the enemy also bombed heavily; I witnessed the death of many persons."

In Cambala, he added, many people were lost or scattered in the forests, escaping the murderous fury of the lackeys of Pretoria.

New Life

In the town of Luxia, the main concern of the displaced persons was to build their own "missocas" (straw huts) which however do not supply sufficient shelter

during that time of the year due to the heavy rainfall. The lack of tin sheets and other construction materials was one of the main difficulties in that town.

However, the displaced persons, mostly peasants, have already established a cooperative where they work on a shift basis. They told the local authorities about their desire to have small individual farm plots which would enable them to improve their diet.

In spite of some difficulties, the Secretariat of State for Social Affairs, as part of its activities among needy population groups, gave the displaced persons assistance in the form of daily necessities, thus giving the people the feeling that they would certainly be supported by the country's authorities.

Like all other Angolan citizens, the displaced persons in Luxia expressed their very strong desire to participate in the homeland's defense, side by side with their army, the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola]. In this connection, the coordinator of the "Ekui-Kui II" district, in Calapo, said that "the displaced persons know who their real representative is and therefore they always believe in the party's and the government's efforts since both of them have done much to solve their problems."

Returnees Reintegrated into Society

In addition to the displaced persons, the party and the government--following up on the teachings of the Immortal Guide of the Revolution Comrade President Agostinho Neto--in March, 52 kilometers from the capital of the Province of Moxico, received fellow citizens who had returned from the neighboring Republic of Zambia, where they had been refugees during both liberation wars; this treatment is given to all those who, upon returning to their homeland, express a desire to be so reintegrated.

Put up in a camp called "Camuleque" in the township of Camanongue, the fellow citizens who have returned have been working in this region since April 1982 at which time they were settled in this area which is very suitable for agricultural work.

After they had settled in Camuleque, the town authorities carried out intensive supervisory activities, assigning political activists and officials from Social Affairs to the town. The camp consisted of 569 individuals and more than 55 of them later on left for Kuando-Kubango, their native land.

According to Comanongue Municipal Commissioner Ilario Cossumua, the support given by Social Affairs is satisfactory only regarding staple food items while the supply of agricultural materials is irregular.

The township has an access road to Northern and Southern Lunda, across the Cassai River. Its potential resides in agriculture since it produces basically cassava, corn, and peanuts. It has 40 districts with peasant associations.

Outstanding among them is the Dongue production camp, established in 1977 and located between the city of Luena, capital of Moxico, and the field of the returnees in Camuleque.

The cooperative members have a farm tractor which they use in the fields. Work in the cooperative is done in a single operation, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and many women participate in it since the men are mostly involved in agriculture.

5058

CSC: 3442/271

FNLA MEMBERS CAPTURED IN UIGE; FEW THOUGHT TO REMAIN

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Jan 84 p 4

[Text] ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] learned from an official source that three bandits who admitted being members of UPA/FNLA [Union of Angolan People/National Front for the Liberation of Angola] were recently surprised and arrested at a market in the city of Uige by state security forces.

One of them, Antonio Kanhaianga, said that he was merely the cook for the bandits who act in the area of Kitexe near the border with Zaire. He is a native of Huambo, as is his companion Antonio Joaquim, who was also arrested. The third, Francisco Bernardo, is a native of Cuanza-Sul and says that he joined UPA/FNLA "very early" when the bandits still were in the area of Cacuaco prior to independence. Later he was in Malanje and in Capuku (Uige). Antonio Joaquim also said that he joined the armed bandits in 1976.

According to a member of the state security operations who made the arrests, two of the bandits were captured at a popular market known by the name of "ajuda marido," and the third, Francisco Bernardo, in the Kandome neighborhood of the city of Uige.

The security officer said that the appearance of the bandits in the city was due to the fact that they are desperate and lost in the jungle of northern Angola. They are the last remains of the UPA/FNLA bandits. They were also trying to find at these markets relatives or old friends who could help them.

11634

CSO: 3442/261

PLAN TO ELIMINATE OPPOSITION IN MALANJE DISCUSSED BY OFFICIAL

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 11 Jan 84 p 4

[Report of an interview granted to the Cuban newspaper GRANMA by the provincial commissioner, Ludy Kissassunda; date and place not given]

[Text] The Malanje provincial commissioner, Col Ludy Kissassunda, member of the Political Bureau of the MPLA-Labor Party, said that centers of counter-revolution in that province will be eliminated.

In an interview published by the Cuban newspaper GRANMA, the chairman of the Provincial People's Assembly said that the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] has the support of the people and peasants to chase away and eliminate soon the small puppet groups who are trying to destabilize the Angolan revolutionary process.

Colonel Kissassunda, appointed by the MPLA-Labor Party to preside over the Regional Military Council and Malanje and Cuanza-Norte provinces, pointed out that after the proclamation of independence in 1975 the province had relative calm, altered only by isolated enemy action in a commune bordering on Bie Province.

He said that for the past 2 years these actions have increased in volume with concentration of bands of infiltrators in Cuanza-Sul and Huambo provinces, and that they have reached important agricultural municipalities of the country.

The chairman of the Military Council of the Ninth Region said that in view of new aggressions, he will respond with measures that will combine with and reinforce the FAPLA actions in their confrontations with the counter-revolutionary grouplets.

Among these measures he mentioned the creation of a Regional Military Council and the organization of FAPLA reserve battalions, made up of the people themselves, which will then be set up in municipalities, communes and villages, so that "the enemy will understand that the people know how to defend themselves and will continue to defend their revolution," he pointed out.

The interview also covered economic development, and in this connection revealed that because of the special characteristics of the region for agricultural activity "the government is concentrating its attention on the creation of agricultural state enterprises, especially in cotton, as well as on the development of cooperatives and peasant associations."

He discussed the progress and the difficulties in achieving greater objectives because of lack of qualified personnel, for which cooperation was being received from friendly countries, such as the Soviet Union, the GDR, Bulgaria and Cuba.

Colonel Ludy Kissassunda said that the situation of sporadic warfare imposed by small counterrevolutionary groups has affected economic and social aspects, such as schools, hospitals and the achievement of a better standard of living of the population. He said that "at this time it is necessary to center all efforts on defense activities in the economic and human fields."

Speaking of Cuban-Angolan cooperation, he said that it is "satisfactory and increasing" in line with the level of fraternal relations that exist between the parties, governments and peoples of the two nations.

After acknowledging the value of this aid to Angolans, he noted that "the influence of Cuban cooperants has a positive effect on work." He added that of fundamental importance "are the voluntary loans we receive from Cuban collaborators, in addition to their behavior, their spirit of sacrifice and their will to work," said the coordinator of MPLA-Labor Party in Malanje.

DINAMA Activities

DINAMA (National Department of Agricultural Mechanization) of Malanje Province has not fulfilled all of its 1983 commitments, according to information given to ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] by the director of that firm, Joaquin de Sousa.

As causes of this failure to carry out the commitment, he indicated lack of means of transportation that would bring the various pieces of equipment to the fields, late arrival of herbicides and changes that have occurred in sending planned equipment to the province by DINAMA.

On the other hand, Joaquim Cristovao reported that during the past year the firm obtained only 101,284,477 kwanzas from the sale of various pieces of equipment and products to firms, agricultural units and peasant associations.

For his part the DINAMA head in that province pointed out as prospects for this year some improvements in the operation of the firm he heads which, to a certain degree, will be conditioned by the timely arrival of hoes, shovels, pickaxes and other material needed by consumers.

Visit of Party-Government Delegation

A party-government delegation headed by Inacio Correia, member of the Malanje Party Provincial Committee, paid a 3-day visit to the municipality of Calandula, where it fostered intensive political activity.

During its stay in that municipality the delegation went to the sectors of Kitumbo, Mapala, Kalemba, Terra-Nova and Caxito where it informed the people of the need to join in the People's Vigilance Brigades and to redouble revolutionary vigilance in order to neutralize the puppet groups of UNITA which are active in that area.

At all of the meetings the people were unanimous in reasserting their total support for President Jose Eduardo dos Santos for the manner he is guiding the nation and for his commitment to fight for the total annihilation of the enemies of the Angolan revolution.

The party-government delegation included Francisco Correia, coordinator of the department for social development and state and judicial organizations, Joao Bernardo and Fatima Sampaio, officials of internal trade and education ministries, respectively.

11635

CSO: 3442/262

TASS DESCRIBES SUCCESS OF FOOD PRODUCTION PROGRAM

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 11 Jan 84 p 3

[Text] According to TASS the agricultural marketing campaign in the countryside continues successfully, having mobilized hundreds of persons toward its total implementation.

This is shown by the fact that, for example, peasants of Cabinda Province has already harvested and sold to the state over 2,000 tons of various agricultural products, such as bananas, potatoes, palm oil, manioc, corn and coconut.

In exchange, workers of the countryside have the possibility of buying general consumer items and agricultural tools.

Moreover, agricultural work at the state agro-livestock complex SACAPETE in Uige Province is progressing well. That complex committed itself to sell to the state organizations 1.5 tons of corn. In this agricultural production unit almost all work is mechanized.

In addition, in Cuanza-Sul Province, known for its good coffee production capacity, the state has already bought from the peasants 16 tons of mabuba [translation unknown] coffee, praised for its unique flavor.

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola has taken efficient measures to help peasants in harvesting their products.

The Soviet Union, the country with which Angola maintains the closest of relations of friendship and cooperation, has given great help to our country, supplying it with some agricultural machinery which is being successfully used in Angolan agricultural fields.

With the help of the USSR, writes TASS, in several Angolan provinces 27 technical assistance and agricultural repairs stations were built, as well as experimental stations for cultivation of cotton and wheat.

11635

CSO: 3442/263

USSR WOMEN EXPRESS CONCERN, SOLIDARITY

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 11 Jan 84 p 2

[Text] Soviet women are greatly concerned at the expansion of aggression on the part of the racist regime of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola.

Civilians, women and children are victims of bombings by South African artillery and aviation. In addition to gross violations of international agreements, South African militarists are using chemical weapons, namely paralyzing substances with high toxic content, state Soviet women.

For some years, sovereign Angola has been the target of incessant armed provocations organized by South African rulers. Serious damage to the economy of that recently-liberated state was inflicted. Many industrial enterprises, homes, schools and hospitals were destroyed, states the declaration.

It is no secret for anyone that the actions of Pretoria authorities became possible thanks to direct support of international imperialism, especially that of the United States. In this connection, Soviet women condemn categorically the military aggression of the South African Republic against independent and sovereign Angola, aggression that threatens the cause of peace.

Soviet women call for total withdrawal of all South African troops from the Angolan regions they are occupying and the observance of the inalienable right of Namibian people to free and independent development.

In the name of the women of the Soviet Union they call upon all women of the world to raise their voices in defense of the People's Republic of Angola.

Soviet women are showing their combative solidarity with the struggle of the Angolan people in defense of their revolutionary conquests, for the sovereignty and independence of their fatherland.

11635
CSO: 3442/263

COFFEE PRODUCTION IN CUANZA-NORTE FAILS TO MEET GOAL

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Jan 84 p 4

[Text] The territorial coffee enterprise AMBACA II last year sold 135 tons of mabuba [translation unknown] coffee. In 1982 it earned 10,534,136 kwanzas, according to statements made to ANGOP [Angolan News Agency] by its manager, Manuel Joao Antonio.

In addition, last year 1,053,901 kg of ripe coffee beans were harvested, failing to meet the goal set for that year by 126,099 kg of coffee.

Absenteeism, lack of transportation and fuel, and financial problems which the firm faced for some time, affected production to a certain degree, explained the head of AMBACA II.

Another aspect that was quite influential in the yield of the firm, according to Manuel Joao Antonio, was the problem of puppet bands which harass those plantations, in spite of the fact that the production unit has over 6,000 hectares of coffee plantations, some of which are not used fully because of lack of adequate manpower.

The financial situation of the firm improved when it received 39,000,165 kwanzas of the State General Budget, and the manager added that during the past year 48 million kwanzas were spent on salaries for the existing labor force.

11635

CSO: 3442/263

SWAPO COMMUNIQUE DENIES PARTICIPATION IN LATEST CONFLICT

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] SWAPO recently denied any type of involvement of the fighting men of the PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] (its armed adjunct) in the fighting in the southern part of Angola between the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and the invading South African Army and demanded that a date be set immediately, through the UN secretary-general, for the start of conversations between the belligerent parties involved in the Namibian conflict, that is, SWAPO and South Africa, for a cease-fire in Namibia.

In an announcement distributed yesterday in Luanda, SWAPO noted that no member of its armed adjunct is included among the victims of the bombings against the areas of Mulondo, Cuvelai, Caiundo, and Cahama, in the south of Angola, with only defenseless Angolans having been hit.

The SWAPO announcement categorically denies the lies spread by South African propaganda about the death of several SWAPO fighting men, members of the FAPLA, and Cuban internationalist troops. In the current racist invasion of Angola, the objective of racist propaganda is to achieve some credibility for its policy of "linkage" which consists in an attempt to tie the Namibian issue to the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist troops from Angola, something which was rejected universally. In this way it conceals the reality of the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia where the Pretoria regime has installed its so-called Special Forces who unleash terrorist actions against defenseless population groups.

The SWAPO also expressed the desire that the intention, stated by the Pretoria regime to hold direct conversations with the Namibian patriotic organization --"something which South Africa so far has always rejected"--this time be pursued seriously and that this should not lead to a repetition of the January 1981 Geneva talks, when South Africa turned the conference into a public relations charade, in an attempt to impose its puppets upon Namibia, with an insulting attitude against SWAPO, against the UN, and against Africa.

After noting that it "has no intention whatsoever of interfering in the makeup of the South African delegation," SWAPO considered positive the proposal for conversations which "must be strictly linked to the question of the ceasefire" and not to extraneous issues which may be slipped in here, noting that the ceasefire between Namibia and South Africa constitutes the point of departure for the implementation of Resolution 435.

5058

CSO: 3442/270

ANGOLAN WAR SEEN AS TWO DIFFERENT CONFLICTS

Lisbon 0 DIABO in Portuguese 3 Jan 84 p 19

[Text] Lamentable performance of Portuguese diplomacy in response to blackmail by Luanda Marxists.

Two kinds of military operations continue to take place in Angola; they result from the confrontation of the government forces, consisting of Angolans and Cubans, with the guerrillas of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] who are operating in more than two-thirds of the country, on the one hand, and the operations carried out in the southern regions by the Republic of South Africa, aimed at the bases of the SWAPO terrorists established there. In the light of these events, various commentators are inclined to consider the situation in Angola as not being a civil war but rather an international war, that is to say, an undeclared war between two sovereign states. This is a story which however is not true.

Objectively speaking, what we are dealing with here in effect is two different struggles although the Marxist regime in Luanda and all those who support it are stepping up their efforts to convince Western foreign offices and international public opinion that this is only one war with the objective of destroying Angola's independence. During a recent press conference, MPLA Vice Minister of Foreign Relations Venancio de Moura at length talked about the attacks by the South African Armed Forces against the civilian population and the occupation of vast areas of territory by the invaders. During his meeting with the President of the Congo Denis Nguesso, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos however said the same thing that Venancio de Moura had said, adding that the South Africans have already penetrated more than 200 kilometers from the border. Both of them maintained that the areas that are the targets of the invasion by the forces of Pretoria and the air raid are not those where the SWAPO bases are located; this implies the admission of the existence of bases of the terrorists movement of Sam Nujoma on Angolan territory.

This is undoubtedly one of the major operations aimed at wiping out the SWAPO bases so far launched by South Africa; but that should not be a surprise to anybody. Even before Gen Constand Viljoen, the commander-in-chief of the South African Defense Force, on 23 December released a detailed official report on the subject, Pretoria's ambassador to the UN, Kurt von Schirnding

supplied the necessary clarification for the benefit of the Security Council. According to those clarifying statements, these events are happening because SWAPO as usually exploited the rainy season and was about to try to infiltrate Namibia through "corridors" and logistic supply roads for the specific purpose of resuming its operations in the Kavango area. Later on, returning from a visit to the area of operations, General Viljoen--in addition to denying a Luanda report, according to which four South African aircraft had been downed--specifically pointed out that current military operations began on 6 December and that they would be continued until their objective had been attained, that is to say, "to crush SWAPO and to put an end to its machinations which are aimed at infiltrating what used to be Southwest Africa."

The most important point in the statements made by General Viljoen is this: Before the start of operations, the Angolan government forces, generally known by the abbreviation FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], were warned that they should stay away from the conflict since the South African Army had nothing against them and did not wish to attack them but only wanted to pursue and destroy SWAPO. In spite of that warning, the Luanda government forces intervened in the conflict more than once. It was not only the South African commander-in-chief who said that, emphasizing that he considered "of utmost seriousness" the fact that five of his men were killed by the FAPLA; President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, as well as various members of his government, also confirmed that the FAPLA are operating side by side with the SWAPO guerrillas against the South African Army; otherwise one could not understand why the MPLA should keep coming out with announcements about South African aircraft downed or about South African soldiers having been killed or captured. Summarizing, it is the Luanda regime which is trying to internationalize the conflict by giving it a broader scope than it really has.

To arrive at that conclusion, which has been quite clear for some time, the observer of events in Angola need not take sides with either party. Most elementary logic tells us that Pretoria, under current circumstances, has not the slightest interest in attacking any neighbor or creating new grounds for international criticism. It has enough big problems already. The exact opposite is true of the Marxist regime of Angola; in stepping up the confrontation between Luanda and Pretoria, to a point where the South Africans find themselves forced to fight not only against the SWAPO guerrillas but also against Angolan government forces, the MPLA is serving the interests of the Soviet Union on which it depends and, at the same time, it is concealing the reality of the civil war; the fighting men are mobilized to defend integrity and independence--a problem which does not exist--and the successes of UNITA can be attributed to the South African invaders. To counter that move, Pretoria will have to speed up its current punitive operations against SWAPO bases in Angola and, once these operations have been completed, it will have to withdraw its forces and demand that the truce plan, submitted to the United Nations in the middle of December, be accepted and complied with; this plan was immediately rejected by Luanda; but Washington continues to consider it "a useful basis for study" and a first stage on the way to an agreement leading to the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 on independence for Namibia.

Regarding the civil war as such, there has been an intensive psychological offensive during the last week of December by the MPLA, reporting the successes of the government forces in various areas and giving assurances to the effect that, thanks to the establishment of the Regional Military Councils, the FAPLA attained "new dynamics and operational readiness which brought admiration from the Cuban officers." These reported successes however are generally rather vague.

There was no military communique whatsoever from UNITA during that week. The emphasis was on the release of foreigners, announced on Christmas Eve and carried out partly at the end of the year. The Portuguese and their families, who thus arrived in Lisbon under the care of the Red Cross, totalled 19 persons. Both they and the two likewise Portuguese nuns who were also released and who will continue on directly to Rome with other religious missionaries in Angola, declared that they were always well treated by the guerrillas and talked about the presence of President Jonas Savimbi at the Christmas party in Natal where they gathered before being released.

Quite in contrast--which is not favorable for the Marxist rulers in Luanda--the latter decided to mark the so-called "holiday" period with new hostile attitudes toward Portugal. They cancelled the participation of PETROGAL [expansion unknown] in the international consortium for petroleum prospecting and exploration in Block 4 on the Angolan continental shelf and hinted that Luanda intends to carry out new reprisals so long as Lisbon continues to permit UNITA activities on Portuguese territory. As if that were not enough, the Angolan foreign relations minister summoned Portuguese Ambassador Pinto da France to protest against the fact that a team from Portuguese Radio-Television had gone to areas controlled by UNITA and prepared news coverage from there.

The reaction from Portuguese diplomacy to these attitudes was not at all dignified. The protest by the MPLA against the trip by a team from RTP [Portuguese Radio-Television] to areas of Angola controlled by UNITA should be considered ignoble since it implies an infringement on freedom of information which is recognized by any nontotalitarian country. As for the rest, many newsmen of various nationalities have already been in Angola on missions similar to those of RTP. No less ignoble seems to us to be the blackmail against PETROGAL since the Marxist government in Luanda is not unaware that UNITA activities in Portugal are merely information and on a much lower level than in other European capitals.

In spite of this, neither Ambassador Pinto da Franca turned his back on the Angolan minister, nor was Ambassador Fernando van Dunem put out of the Palace of Necessities. Portuguese diplomacy, cowering before the Marxist clique of Luanda, has not yet perceived the twin objective pursued by the MPLA in its campaign against the government in Lisbon: On the one hand, to gain prestige among the party rank and file by taking on the airs of a strength it does not have and, on the other hand, to contribute to the further destabilization of the Portuguese government coalition, thus rendering a service both to the interests of international communism and to the so-called Portuguese Communist Party as well as the "revolutionaries of April" of the type of Melo Antunes and others. The MPLA owes its power to them. It is natural that it should from time to time want to pay off a little bit of that debt, as is now happening through this blackmail.

BDP, GOVERNMENT UNDER FIRE DURING BPP RALLY

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 31 Jan 84 p 2

[Text] FRANCISTOWN, January 23: Issues ranging from education, agriculture and housing came under criticism at a Botswana Peoples Party (BPP) rally at the Tati Town Freedom Square here over the weekend.

Treasurer, Mr N. M. Maja accused the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) of dividing people through the current education system.

He promised the people that if elected into power, the BPP would abolish the automatic promotion system in education.

He also believed that the government had mishandled the recent student demonstration at the University of Botswana by sending in the Special Support Group (SSG) of the police.

The Party's Selebi Phikwe Committee Vice Secretary, Mr P. G. Mthetho promised that the BPP would introduce what he called scientific and intensive farming on state and cooperative farms which would be provided with machinery and irrigation system.

The Party's Organising Secretary, Mr R. T. Mudongo, promised huge housing projects in which monthly instalments would be paid by Batswana, until these equalled prices for the purchase of the houses. The ownership of the houses would then be transferred to their occupants.

Local governments would cater for housing, he added. BOPA

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AGREEMENT SIGNED REGARDING NETHERLANDS DEVELOPMENT WORKERS

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 31 Jan 84 p 2

[Text]

GABORONE, January 26: An agreement formalising the sending of Dutch development workers to Botswana to work in various fields such as secondary schools, brigades and medical service was signed this morning.

The agreement was signed by the Assistant Minister of Finance and Development Planning, Mr Obed Chilume and the Director of the Dutch Non-government Organisation, DOC (service abroad), Mr J.L.A. van Melle here today.

According to a release issued after the signing, the DOC-workers are directly employed by either the Botswana Government or non-government structures in Botswana.

DOC is officially represented in Botswana by the Botswana

Christian Council (BCC), and its director, Mr J. Kgobe acts as representative in Gaborone.

The release explains that the agreement was signed because the former one had expired and that the agreement signed today will provide a basis for further cooperation and increased support through this organisation to the development of Botswana.

It further states that at present there are 22 DOC workers in Botswana and most of them are working as secondary school teachers and that in the future DOC workers will also be employed at teacher training institutions in the country.

Priority in the educational field is given to subjects of science as well as practical and agricultural subjects, says the release.

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GABORONE'S NEW MAYOR DISCUSSES CONCERNS, PROBLEMS

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English 31 Jan 84 p 1

[Text]

GABORONE, JANUARY 27: Mr Botshabelo Patrick Bagwasi was yesterday elected Gaborone's New Mayor at a full meeting of the Town Council.

Mr Bagwasi who is the current Director of the Botswana Council for Refugees and a BDP councillor for Broadhurst, is taking over with immediate effect from the veteran councillor and civil servant, Mr Serara Ketlogetswe who has been Mayor of the capital for the past four years.

The new mayor, who was elected by an overwhelming majority, worked for government for more than 10 years before assuming the post of Director of the Botswana Council of Refugees.

During his government service, he worked with the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, in charge of urban and rural development.

Mr Bagwasi who is married with four children, is a graduate of the now-defunct University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland then known as UBLS.

Observers say he is replacing a man of formidable background, since the outgoing Mayor, Mr Ketlogetswe, held the capital for four years with sound administration.

Immediately after being elected, Mr Bagwasi chaired the conduct of elections for the Deputy mayor and council committees.

His first duty as Mayor was to receive a courtesy call on Mayor's

office by the new Romanian Ambassador to Botswana, Mr George Badrus.

Ambassador Badrus presented his credentials to the President, Dr Q.K.J. Masire on Tuesday this week.

Mr Bagwasi said that the major concern would be that the majority of people who are without employment due to the water crisis had led to the closure of a number of firms.

He disclosed that his next problem was that of accommodation and he resolved that he would be meeting community and Government leaders on these issues, very soon.

He also spoke of his concern over urban centres such as Gaborone, where relief measures did not seem to have been applied with the same promptness and sufficiency as in rural areas, he said.

The new Mayor remarked that there should be no distinction during disasters such as drought, in both the rural and urban areas, as far as relief measures are concerned.

Mr Bagwasi said he might be having the shortest contestable term in office in that the general elections this year and the dissolution of Parliament by the President would necessitate the holding of fresh elections this year for the post of Mayor.

The Deputy Mayor, another BDP Councillor Mr Joel Sekgwa is taking over from Janet Nwako, also of the BDP.

Only one councillor, Mr Maitshwarelo Dabutha of the Botswana National Front belongs to the council of 15 members.

BOTSWANA

BRIEFS

CHINESE RAILWAY EXPERTS ARRIVE--Gaborone.--Botswana is to take over from Zimbabwe the operation of more than 200km of the rail system between Mahalatye in Botswana and Mafikeng from April 1, pending complete "localisation" of the railways by 1987. The Botswana government began negotiations with Zimbabwe in August last year to localise the operation of the railway system within its borders, which until now, had been the responsibility of the National Railways of Zimbabwe. A Botswana government spokesman in Gaborone, Mr S Shankar, said yesterday that China had offered Botswana a R17-million loan for laying track south of Gaborone and that a team of Chinese experts had arrived in the country to assess the project. Work on the project would take 2 1/2 years.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 4 Feb 84 p 11]

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CAMEROONIANS' IMPRESSIONS, REACTIONS TO NEW PRESIDENT

Paris LE MOIS EN AFRIQUE in French No 215-216, Dec 83-Jan 84 pp 3-10

[Article by Dieudonne Oyono, Doctor of Political Science, Assistant Lecturer at the Cameroon Institute of International Relations: "How do Cameroonians Perceive the New President of Their Republic?"]

[Text] On 4 November 1982, President Ahmadou Ahidjo resigned from his office of president of the United Republic of Cameroon, after a quarter of a century as chief of state. He was replaced by his constitutional successor, Prime Minister Paul Biya. Since he took the oath on 6 November before the National Assembly and the Supreme Court, the new president of the Republic has visited seven of Cameroon's provinces. The English-speaking citizens, like the French speakers, were charmed and seduced by Paul Biya. The daily CAMEROUN TRIBUNE echoed this reaction: "The welcome that the entire Cameroonian population had in store for Paul Biya on that occasion, as it now does every time he appears in public, is a plebiscite. Those huge popular demonstrations of liking, support and encouragement illustrate, in confirmation of that fact, the spontaneous, enthusiastic, solid and definite acceptance of the man who has embodied the nation's institutions since 6 November"¹.

Thus, within just a few months, this technocrat, "this discreet and prudent senior civil servant who for 20 years lived in the shadow of Ahmadou Ahidjo"² and who barely 4 years ago confided to a visitor, "President Ahidjo did not appoint me to this position to make policy, but to examine the records and submit them for his approval"³, has become very popular. He seems to be identified with the various groups who recognize themselves in him. And perhaps it is time to examine the foundations of that personalization of power that, since his accession to the highest office, has benefited Ahmadou Ahidjo's successor to the Palace of Unity. In fact, this kind of a profile today presages, in principle, this kind of action for tomorrow.

1. How does President Paul Biya appear to Cameroonians?

a) A brother who succeeds a father

To many Cameroonians, especially for professionals and intellectuals, the new president of the Republic is above all a brother who succeeds a father. Ahmadou Ahidjo embodied a paternal and heroic authority. To his fellow citizens he was the "Father of Independence," the "Founder of the United

Republic of Cameroon," the "builder of the Cameroonian nation." Thus, to the Cameroonian intelligentsia, the majority of which today is made up of elements who did not experience the struggles for independence, the first president of the Cameroonian state represents the generation of African independence.

On the other hand, to that part of the Cameroonian population Paul Biya personifies solidarity with the adult world. He represents the change from the generation of "politicians" who characterized the decade of struggles for African independence, to the generation of "technocrats."

In fact, the intelligentsia shares several points in common with the new chief of state. It is immune to educational degrees. Paul Biya actually holds a graduate degree in public law and is a graduate of the Institute for Graduate Overseas Studies and of the Political Studies Institute in Paris. This fact is very important in a country like Cameroon, which underwent a profound sociological change in the last 20 years, with professionals and intellectuals having an increasing influence on the political balance.

This image of solidarity coincides with a demographic movement of youth taking place in Cameroon; today, young people represent over half the total work force. To that part of the Cameroonian population, high-school and college students for the most part, this image is often conceived of as a joint opposition to the team that was formerly in place. For example, the current interpretation of the watchwords "rigor" and "moralization" used by the new president of the Republic: "The state (under President Biya) is going to put an end to certain bad habits of the past...by expelling the incompetent, the dishonest and the corrupt," said a Yaounde University student who was "loudly seconded by his comrades," in the weekly JEUNE AFRIQUE".

b) A Leader from the Grass Roots

Shortly after the change in the head of state on 6 November 1982, there were few Cameroonians who knew much about the new president of the Republic. The publication, the following month, of a study conducted by students at the Graduate School of Science and Information Technology in Yaounde⁵, marked the beginning of a different feeling of solidarity between many Cameroonians and the new chief of state.

Thus, Cameroonians have made the acquaintance of Paul Biya's native village, as well as his family "of ineffable modesty." They discovered the chief of state's mother, "a woman who exists by the hundreds in boulou [translation unknown] countries, cooking over a wood fire and cultivating her field. The Cameroonian people are thus following the childhood of the new president of the Republic, his first steps at school, his class photos at the Akono Seminary, his courses at the Leclerc High School in Yaounde--in a word, so many factors that have given Cameroonians the feeling that his birth, his school and professional progress were actually those of a man who is one of our own and who, after he left his village, was able to pull himself up to the highest office through hard work and endurance. Paul Biya's life story, by satisfying egalitarianism, created around the new president of the Republic an additional feeling of solidarity.

Moreover, in his public speeches the present chief of state has managed to stay close to the little people. Touring the Northwest and Southwest provinces that form the English-speaking part of the United Republic of Cameroon, Paul Biya addressed the people in English, to the gratification of all the Anglophones who, for the first time, were hearing a Cameroonian chief of state speak to the population of that part of the country without the help of an interpreter. In the Eastern part of the country he condemns "the practise of witchcraft," thus demonstrating a complete familiarity with the problems affecting relations in the village communities. Thus, he appears to be a man of the people, capable of understanding the needs of ordinary people.

c) A simple heart

A third image is superimposed on the images of solidarity and egalitarianism. It has to do with Paul Biya's civic and moral qualities.

To many Cameroonians, the new chief of state is above all a former seminarian, and in popular imagery, seminary life inculcates high moral values. Also, President Paul Biya's image is associated above all with integrity, sincerity and rectitude. Professor Georges Ngango, one of President Paul Biya's classmates, when he was asked about the characteristics of the young Biya at Edea and Akono seminaries, replies, "A pronounced taste for justice and peace"⁶. To Professor Jean Mfulu it was "calm, gentleness and amiability that characterized the young Biya"⁷. To Abbe Louis-Paul Ngongo, the chief of state was "a hard-working, precise person"⁸. Moreover, the work published by Yaounde University, "Paul Biya or the Personification of Precision," perfectly illustrates this image of the president of the Republic.

To his fellow citizens, Paul Biya also personifies a public-spirited attitude, respect for work and a taste for effort. The testimony of Florent Etoga Eily, representative to the presidency of the Republic from 1971 to 1974 when Paul Biya was the secretary general, fleshes out the image. The life of the present president is characterized by "a priority given to the general interest," to "the requirements of work well done," to "an ethic of effort performed with rectitude" and to "a pronounced sense of organization"⁹.

Respect for his family and for God forms another image of the president in the consciousness of his fellow countrymen. To his mother, "Paul was a very lovable child. I don't recall ever being really angry with him, now that he is grown. I don't think I exaggerate when I saw that thus far he has never given me any reasons for anything but satisfaction. And everyone who lives in this village can attest to that"¹⁰. As for respecting God, Florent Etoga Eily again testifies: "He told me, several weeks before 6 November 1982, as we came from mass, that he could not compromise on Christian faith and that whatever happens and whatever influence one might have on society, it is necessary to cling most strongly to that loyalty...To this internal expression of faith is added a religious practise to which Paul Biya has remained very dedicated"¹¹.

Moreover, there is a little of the evangelical sermon in the speech of the new chief of state. He has made "rigor" and "moralization" the leitmotifs

of his public speeches. In his message to the nation on 31 December 1982 President Biya preached that nothing great can be constructed without a certain "asceticism." On a tour through the Eastern province he emphasized that "it is a matter of preventing waste and misappropriation by applying ourselves to judicious management of the loans allocated to completing projects included in the plan for the development of your province. It is a matter of attending to the scrupulous carrying out of public transactions... On the social and moral level it is a matter of fighting abuses that are likely to bring about the deterioration of morals"¹².

2. What explains the fact that this myth became established so quickly?

a) Paul Biya, support for the projection of the public's dreams and aspirations.

In reality, Paul Biya's success comes from the fact that he offers Cameroonians two opposite images superimposed one on the other. He is at the same time different and similar, superior and equal. Two aspects make that projection-identification possible. A first image presents the new president as an extremely simple man: "I was under the spell of so much receptiveness, simplicity and humility. No presumptuousness, not a trace of megalomania. Absence of the desire to fool anyone. I learned later that he behaves that way with all visitors. He takes each of his interlocutors for what he is--a person. With no distinction as to religion, tribe, race, ideology, sex or age"¹³, a visitor said after a talk with Paul Biya, who was then prime minister. At the same time, a second image presents the new chief of state as a distinguished man with a reputation for competence and intelligence. Thus, this pre-eminence, combined with the chief of state's image of simplicity, today enables a large number of Cameroons to transfer to Paul Biya everything they have wanted to accomplish personally and have not been able to do.

b) "Loosening up" the presidential image

One key to Paul Biya's success with his fellow citizens is also his popular style. Above all, he appears to be a common man, who personifies common virtues and brilliant talent. His lack of solemnity helps the Cameroon public identify with him. This removal of the presidential image from its "pedestal" is revealed in the most diverse areas.

Since his accession to the head of the state, the new Cameroonian president has reduced protocol requirements to their strict minimum. In fact, in the days following his swearing in, while he was still occupying the Lake Residence, Paul Biya went to work every morning at the Palace of Unity, at the other end of the city, without an official escort. And the interview he granted to the weekly JEUNE AFRIQUE illustrates that state of mind very well. Asked whether with his new responsibilities the new president should not kiss such outings goodbye, Paul Biya replied, "Do you think so? To be the chief of state, should one be distant from the people, or mingle with them?"¹⁴

Also, the official photo of the new president of the Republic gives substance to this image of relaxation and unpretentiousness. The official

portrait presented to the Cameroonians caused them some incredulity. The absence of formal clothing and solemnity. The photograph of the First Cameroonian looks like a banal identification photo like the ones that millions of Cameroonian men and women possess.

The same lack of pretension is to be found in his public speeches. There is absolutely no bombast and no grand flights of oratory. His speeches, delivered in language accessible to everyone, represent average public opinion. By preaching "rigor" and "moralization," Paul Biya is setting himself up as a defender of the weak and thus increasing the feeling of security in the average Cameroonian. By condemning alcoholism and lavish expenditures for family ceremonies, he is consolidating the group by preserving accustomed and familiar arguments.

3. Paul Biya's political program: continuity and change

On 11 June, on a visit to the South Central province, President Biya closed the tour he had undertaken to establish contact with the populations of Cameroon's seven provinces. And as he recapitulated everything that had been said since Bamenda, the first stage of the journey that carried the new chief of state across the country by way of Douala, Bafoussam, Buea, Garoua, Maroua, Ngaoundere, Bertoua and Batouri, the Yaounde speech appeared to be a program-speech. In fact, Paul Biya drew the broad outlines of his actions in the years to come, as much in domestic policy as in Cameroon's relations with other nations. This outline appeared to be a new-style reaffirmation of the fundamental principles of Cameroon's domestic and foreign policy.

a) President Biya's options for domestic and foreign policy.

At home, President Biya wants above all to appear as the president of all the Cameroonians. Thus, speaking to the people of the South Central, the province of which he himself is a native, the chief of state said, "Yes, by force of circumstance and the will of God, I am a South-Central native. So, although it is right for me to appreciate, as so many demonstrations of their support for me, all the signs of liking and devotion continually being shown me by my south-Central compatriots, it also seems necessary for me to state loudly and clearly that although I was assuredly born in the South-Central, I am the president of all the Cameroonians. And by the will of all the Cameroonians, from North to South, from East to West, I am the president of the United Republic of Cameroon"¹⁵.

Such an attitude serves an objective that President Biya affirms as being the cornerstone of his actions in the years ahead, the strengthening of national unity with the help of the activities of the National Cameroonian Union (UNC), the country's single party organization, of which Paul Biya is vice president: "In Cameroon we are condemned to unity. This is an obvious fact, which is vital to our party, which has mainly focused its actions on rallying all of the country's healthy willingness without considering race, tribe or religion"¹⁶.

To President Biya this imperative for unity serves a broader objective, the balanced development of the nation within the framework of planned

liberalism, which will offer "chances for social advancement to all Cameroonians by the alleviation of natural inequalities, by a more equitable distribution to the people as a whole of the fruits of development"¹⁷.

Finally, the chief of state stresses the primacy of the agricultural sector in Cameroon. He considers agriculture "the sector that offers more outlets and contributes more foreign currency, the one that ensures food self-sufficiency, the one that by means of its abundant, varied, renewable and steady resources, is our most definite guarantee of prosperity." Concerning the oil bonanza, the chief of state reveals that "oil and gas are not eternal wealth, nor are they permanent factors in development." Hence his urging of prudence and moderation, even though these resources assure "foreign currency savings and (make it possible) to dedicate more resources to development programs."

As for foreign political options, they are also a reaffirmation of Cameroon's fundamental options: "They are, in Africa, non-interference in the internal affairs of the states, respect for their sovereignty and their territorial integrity, African unity and solidarity, the resolute and irreversible fight against the last bastions of colonialism and the misdeeds of apartheid in southern Africa, the development of the continent. On the international level they are peace between nations, non-alignment--I mean a genuine non-alignment--and cooperation--I mean a renewed cooperation looking toward a new, more just and more stable world economic order. Within the framework of these foreign policy options, respect for our commitments to the international organizations; I am thinking in particular of the UDEAC [Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa], the OAU, the non-aligned movement and the UN. Respect for that attachment remains constant"¹⁸.

b) A "scientific" vision of the state?

What is new, on the other hand, is that one conception of the state seems to be taking the place of another. The political context of the 60 years in Cameroon characterized by civil war had made the state synonymous with authority, a transcendent apparatus in which the nation was to be forged. With Paul Biya, a sign of the times, the state ceases to be a metaphysical entity. Instead of the regal concept that prevailed over the decade of the struggles for African independence, the new chief of state is proposing an organizational approach. He presents Cameroon as an ensemble of public services instituted to respond to the very concrete needs of the population. This functional vision, which seems to be initiating the process of demythologizing the phenomenon of state control in Cameroon, could be an additional explanation for Paul Biya's success in a country that has undergone profound sociological changes since it achieved independence.

Paul Biya presents his political system as one part of the social system. He presents his government as a machine that serves to convert social requirements into political decisions. This is why, during a Council of Ministers meeting, the chief of state asked the cabinet members to translate into action the grievances that had been presented to him by the people in the course of his moving around the provinces.

Such a process necessarily means that individuals and groups must keep the state informed of their needs. This was the meaning behind President Biya's trips throughout Cameroon. "During the last 6 months I was able to go into the different provinces in the nation to establish human contact with the people, in order to familiarize myself with their basic concerns"²⁰.

In conclusion, the new Cameroonian president thinks that by making "rigor" and "moralization" the spearheads of his actions in the years to come, he will make aware and responsible individuals of his fellow citizens.

A long and exacting job, because he proposes to change attitudes. The success of such a program necessarily comes about through gradually winning over to Paul Biya's vision the ruling classes who hold the power. It also comes about by maintaining, long term, the liking that has been created for the new chief of state. This complex situation demands a subtle balance--which Paul Biya will fashion--between the classes with the power, in whose eyes the new chief of state's approach is ahead of political custom, and the masses who are demanding the swiftest possible change.

FOOTNOTES

1. CAMEROUN TRIBUNE No 2709, 25 June 1983.
2. JEUNE AFRIQUE No 1142, 24 November 1982.
3. "Paul Biya or the Personification of Precision," 20 May 1983.
4. JEUNE AFRIQUE No 1168, 25 May 1983.
5. ESSTI-SPECIAL, December 1982.
6. ESSTI-SPECIAL, op. cit., p 32.
7. Ibid., p 36.
8. Ibid., p 46.
9. "Paul Biya or the Personification of Precision," op. cit., pp 201-211.
10. ESSTI-SPECIAL, op. cit., p 13.
11. "Paul Biya or the Personification of Precision," op. cit., pp 192-193.
12. CAMEROUN TRIBUNE No 2684, Friday 27 May 1983.
13. "Paul Biya or the Personification of Precision," op. cit., p 16.
14. JEUNE AFRIQUE No 1142, 24 November 1982.
15. CAMEROUN TRIBUNE, 12 and 13 June 1983.

16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. CAMEROUN TRIBUNE, 7 and 8 November 1982.
19. CAMEROUN TRIBUNE, 7 June 1983.
20. CAMEROUN TRIBUNE, 12 and 13 June 1983.

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REVIEW OF 1983 ELECTION YEAR

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[Text] THE year 1983 will go down in Kenya's history as the one in which the country held its first premature general elections, and the one in which President Moi finally got from under the shadow of the founding father, the late President Jomo Kenyatta, to consolidate his own power base as the country's second president. It will also go down as the year when parliament, and the cabinet, for the first time got down to business in the absence of Mr. Charles Njonjo, the once all-powerful attorney general, later minister for constitutional affairs.

Even before the so-called traitor issue (which precipitated the crisis that led to the premature elections) became a public debate, there were calls from some quarters in the country, the press included, for an early election as a major step towards stabilising political activity in the country following the abortive coup attempt in August, 1982. The argument for a snap election was mainly based on the grounds that while the majority of Kenyans were unsympathetic with the would-be coupmakers, the events leading to the abortive coup had got them thinking seriously about the kind of leadership they had and they did not like what they saw. They had lost confidence in the politicians and a fresh type of leadership was now required; this could only be achieved through a fresh mandate from the voters. Besides this kind of suspicion on the part of the public, there was an increasing amount of disunity among the politicians themselves - with each blaming the other for the mess the country was in, especially the economy. This disunity had translated itself into the usual bickering about who was a *Nyayo* follower and who was anti-*Nyayo*.

Initially, there seemed to be agreement among the advocates of an early parliamentary election that such an election should be preceded by Kanu elections, both at the grassroots and the national levels. Indeed, towards the end of 1982 President Moi himself had said party elections would be held early in 1983. This announcement intensified the political bickering as prospective candidates got their supporters to float the idea that they should be elected unopposed to their respective party seats. Comments in the press about the undesirability of this idea of electing people unopposed went unheeded by the aspirants to party posts until the Kanu national treasurer, Mr. Justus Ole Tipis, put the matter to rest by announcing that the idea of unopposed elections was out. (Ironically, Tipis was later to become one of the five people who were elected to parliament unopposed in the premature election held in September. It is understood this was achieved after much behind-the-scenes manoeuvring to get his main opponent in Narok

North, Mr. William Ntimama, to withdraw his declared intention to oppose Tipis).

The party hopefuls were however not put off by the intervention of Tipis. Instead, they came out with a new strategy with incumbents threatening prospective opponents with suspension from the party in an effort to preclude any possibility of opposition in the polls. The local press was full of reports of all manner of people being suspended from the party by their local branches. None of these suspensions were upheld by the party headquarters, but it took the intervention of the president to put a

stop to them. By the time the president's intervention came, however, the heat generated by the bickering had spilled over into other areas, giving rise to actual physical violence. This was true of Kirinyaga District where arguments between the supporters of two assistant ministers - Mr. James Njiru (health) and Mr. Nahashon Njuno (works) - resulted in a fight at Kanu rally where several people were injured. The fight led to Njuno losing his government post, but he was later consoled by the fact that he not only retained his parliamentary seat in the September elections, but got back his post as an assistant minister while Njiru was rejected by the voters. Other areas where election fever threatened to erupt into violence included Kangema in Murang'a District where the then minister for higher education, Mr. Joseph Kamotho, was preparing to oppose Mr. John Michuki for the leadership of the sub-branch, and later to contest the branch chairmanship. Kamotho's hopes were later to bite the dust, for not only were the expected party elections not called, but he lost to Michuki in the parliamentary elections that took place instead.

One other reason that necessitated the call for a snap elections was the laxity with which most parliamentarians seemed to take their responsibilities. For most of 1983, parliamentary debate and other functions of the national assembly had to be constantly put off due to a lack of quorum in the house. The frequency of a lack of quorum in parliamentary deliberations reached a point where it was no longer ridiculous but outrageous. The issue hit a crisis point when it became obvious that there were even some government ministers who, for reasons unknown, were actually encouraging other members of parliament to stay out of the chamber, if not actually inducing them to do so. While the bickering among the politicians clearly showed that too many of the country's resources were being wasted on useless debate and that the politicians were not leaving themselves enough time to attend to the affairs of the nation, the lack of quorum in parliament left no doubt that the country needed parliamentarians who took their duties more seriously. An early election was considered a good remedy for both problems.

When the early elections were eventually called, it was for neither of

the above reasons, although the foregoing was believed to have had a bearing on the events that led to the president's decision to call the elections. In his own words, the president said he had been forced to call the elections to rid the system of people who were disloyal, or whose performance in their public positions was either unbecoming or below the required standard. With all the machinery of state and other institutions geared towards elections being held in late 1984, a lot of ground had to be covered to prepare to the premature polls. There were voters rolls to be revised and updated; there were ballot papers to be printed for almost 900 parliamentary candidates and about 5,000 civic contestants; and there was the tedious Kanu clearance process, among other things. Security arrangements had to be made, while thousands of election officials and clerks had to be recruited, both for the polling exercise itself, and for the counting of the ballots.

Given the time limit, the exercise went smoothly, though the campaign was marred by a number of incidents of violence, especially in Mathira, Kirinyaga, Kangema and Kitutu West. In Kangema, supporters of Kamotho and Michuki went on a rampage all over the constituency on several occasions, hurling stones at each other and at vehicles, and causing considerable damage to shops and other property. Similar incidents took place in two constituencies in Kirinyaga District, leaving scores of people injured. It was, however, in Mathira constituency in Nyeri and Kitutu West in Kisii District that the violence was most tragic. In Mathira, a butcher was stoned to death by supporters of one of the candidates as the campaigns were just about halfway through. Several people were arrested and charged with the murder. In Kitutu, a former minister for economic planning, Dr. Zachary Onyonka, retained his seat against stiff opposition, but was later arrested together with his body guard and three other people and charged with the murder of a 19-year old boy who was shot in election violence on the eve of

polling day. The five are still in custody and have been committed for trial in the high court.

There were some major upsets in elections, though not as many as would have been expected, given the climate

under which the early polls were called. In Laikipia, Mr. G.G. Kariuki, a former minister for lands and settlement and at one time one of the members of the cabinet closest to the president, was beaten by his political opponent of long standing in the area, Mr. Joseph Mathenge - a peasant farmer and former school teacher. Mathenge was appointed an assistant minister. In Kangema, Kamotho lost to Michuki, while Dr. Muniya Waiyaki, another former minister who had been an MP since independence, was beaten by his arch-rival, Mr. Andrew Ngumba, former Nairobi mayor. Former minister of commerce John Henry Okwanyo also lost his Migori seat while the controversial Waruru Kanja failed in his bid to recapture the Nyeri seat he lost after he was jailed for contravening foreign exchange regulations in September 1981.

Mr. Charles Rubia, former minister for housing, recaptured his Starehe seat in Nairobi without difficulty, but was dropped from the government, as was his colleague, Mr. Stanley Oloitipiti (formerly minister for culture and social services).

With a new parliament to choose from, President Moi finally came up with a slightly smaller cabinet which was top heavy with technocrats. Among the newcomers were such people as Mr. Kenneth Matiba (culture and social services) who for a long time was the chairman of the highly successful East African Breweries, and one of the most sophisticated business executives in the country. Mr. Peter Nyakiamo, a former general manager and director of Barclays Bank, was appointed minister in the office of the president, while Mr. Maina Wanjigi, a seasoned politician and agricultural economist by training, was given ministry of tourism. The most dramatic appointment, however, went to a former mathematics professor and director of the Kenya Commercial Bank, Dr. George Saitoti, who was nominated MP by the president and given the key ministry of finance and planning. Also nominated to parliament was Mr. B.M. Gecaga, chairman of the BAT tobacco company for over 20 years and a member of numerous businesses and academic boards. The president also appointed an MP from the North-Eastern Province to a cabinet post for the first time since Kenya's independence. The honour went to Mr. Hussein Maalim Mohamed

who was appointed minister in the office of the president.

Kenyan women did not fare well in the elections, with only Mrs. Phoebe Asiyo surviving against stiff opposition in Karachuonyo in Luoland. To bridge the gap, the president appointed two professional women, Mrs. Grace Ogot and Mrs. Rose Waruhiu, as members of parliament.

Besides the early elections one of the most dramatic political events of the year was the dropping of Mr. Joseph Kamere as attorney general and his replacement by Justice Mathew Muli. If Kamere had made any impression as Kenya's third attorney general since independence, it was only in a negative

way. In the 20 months he was in office, Kamere was often in newspaper headlines either in connection with legal cases in which he was involved in person or acrimonious parliamentary debates. Many will remember the shock with which the country received the revelations in parliament that Kamere and the then minister for labour, Mr. Titus Mbatia, had been given three million shillings and one million shillings loans, respectively, by the Bank of Baroda at a time when neither had an account in the bank which in addition was being investigated on charges of illegal foreign exchange repatriation and racism. Many will also remember Kamere's angry retort in parliament that he would use the awesome powers of his office to ensure that those behind the parliamentary disclosure of his dealings with the Bank of Baroda would not go unpunished. They will also remember the case where Kamere and his wife were sued in their private capacity by a German businessman, Mr. Dagobert Meier, seeking nearly shs. 4 million as compensation for breach of contract after Kamere and his wife cancelled a contract in which Meier's firm, Arev Construction, was to construct a number of residential houses on a plot owned by Kamere near Nairobi. It was claimed in the proceedings that Kamere had threatened to use his power as attorney general to have Meier deported from the country to pre-empt the legal action.

Given these incidents and many others that constituted what was obviously an abuse of public office, most Kenyans were not surprised when in January it was announced that President Moi had dropped Kamere and appointed Muli

attorney-general. Kamere was not the only one to make an exit from public life during the year in a manner that was anything but graceful. In April, a former Nairobi mayor, Mr. Nathan

Kahara, and his entire council and several chief officers suffered a similar fate when the government decided to dissolve the council and appoint a commission to run the city. For months before its dissolution, the council had continued to ignore public criticism over such issues as mismanagement of council funds, tribalism and other forms of corruption in staff recruitment and allocation of council plots and houses, and giving sub-standard services to city residents. By early this year, the situation had become so bad that the city began to stink as a result of uncollected garbage all over as the council continued to offer feeble excuses. An internal power struggle that had been going on for several years between Kahara and a small clique of powerful councillors was still continuing, leaving the city fathers little or no time to concentrate on running the affairs of the city as they engaged in one public controversy after another.

In March, the government moved in, following a report of a committee appointed earlier to probe the financial affairs of the council, and suspended the whole council and sent all its chief officers on compulsory leave. Another team was appointed to carry out further investigations in the meantime and to continue conducting the running of the city. The team presented its report in April, recommending that the council be dissolved. The recommendation was accepted by the government and the council was dissolved and several chief officers, including the town clerk, Mr. George Wanjie, either sacked or retired. A commission was appointed to run the city with immediate effect. The former mayor was to later make a bid for parliamentary politics when he contested the Langata seat in September elections (there were no civil elections in Nairobi), but he only managed to poll 900 votes.

In spite of all its challenges, 1983 had a fairly happy ending for Kenyans. In November, Kenyans played host to Britain's Queen Elizabeth II who was on her first state visit to the country since

its independence from Britain 20 years ago. The rapturous welcome Kenyans gave the queen and her husband, Prince Philip, everywhere they went during the four day visit, was a clear testimony of the friendship that exists between Kenya and Britain. The crowning event of the year, however, was the celebrations of the country's 20th anniversary of independence. The celebrations, which lasted for over a week, were the largest ever held in the country. The pomp and pageantry, which included spectacular fireworks displays, were witnessed by no fewer than ten visiting heads of state and government who had come to Nairobi to join the Kenyans in the celebrations.

RAMIFICATIONS OF LAST YEAR'S COUP ATTEMPT DESCRIBED

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[Text] IT is now 16 months since the abortive coup attempt in August one last year, but the ramifications of the coup continued to be felt in the country, albeit in a progressively mild way, in 1983. At the beginning of this year, the coup attempt was still fresh in the mind of Kenyans. Over 800 former Kenya Air Force soldiers had already been convicted by courts martial and sentenced to stiff jail terms for their roles in the coup attempt, while four others had already been sentenced to death. Up to seventy University of Nairobi students were in custody, awaiting sedition trials, and a handful of civilians, including Mr. Raila Odinga, a son of former vice-president Mr. Oginga Odinga, had been arraigned before the courts on treason charges. Still, Kenyans were still more or less in the dark about the main questions raised by the coup attempt. They did not know the whole truth about the plotting of the coup and who the real masterminds were. The trials of the 800 or so soldiers who had already been convicted in the courts martial merely revealed the physical movements of individual soldiers on the material day. The treason trials that led to the death sentences, however, gave some insights into the meetings that took place about between some of the plotters and confirmed that Snr. Pte. Pancreas Ochuka, who at the time was in exile, having fled to Tanzania, had played a leading role in the plotting and the execution of the coup attempt.

The public was, however, still waiting expectantly for more facts. The treason trials were still going on and as two prominent personalities, former Air Force commander Major General Peter Kariuki, and former police

commissioner Mr. Ben Gethi were also in custody, the public expected that their trials and those of the civilians facing treason charges would bring out more answers about the coup attempt. It was against this background, as far as

the coup attempt was concerned, that Kenyans ushered in 1983.

Kariuki was put on trial in January on charges of failing to suppress mutiny and in less than two weeks was convicted and sentenced to four year's imprisonment each on two courts, sentences to run concurrently. Kariuki's case generated much public interest as he was the seniormost military man to be tried by the courts martial. His arrest had led to wide speculation about his possible role in the coup attempt but it turned out that the case against him was not on his involvement but on the manner in which he conducted himself prior to and on the day of the coup. The first charge against him was that he failed to prevent a mutiny knowing that a mutiny was intended and the second charge was that on August 1, he failed to suppress the mutiny.

Kariuki's trial revolved around the question of what a major general and commander of a force should do in event of a mutiny. The facts of the case were that Kariuki had been informed of the intended coup attempt by one Lt. Leslie Mwambura; Kariuki reported the matter to higher authorities, which culminated in a meeting between Kariuki and the chief of general staff, General J. Mulinge. The meeting agreed that Mwambura be handed over to the special branch for investigations and as a result Mwambura was made a double agent for the purpose of gathering more information about the coup. On the eve of the coup, Mwambura told the major

general that the coup was scheduled for the next day but Kariuki said he already knew about it. The following morning, at his Timau farm, Kariuki was informed that the government had been overthrown. That same morning, the commander of the army, Lt. General John Sawe, sent instructions to Kariuki to get in touch with defence headquarters but Kariuki ignored the instructions and instead of telephoning or using any other available means of communication through a military unit, Kariuki drove all the way to Nairobi, arriving at defence headquarters at 5 p.m.

The defence tried to prove that account wrong and the court ruled that the former major general had conducted himself negligently on the night of July 31 and on August 1. Kariuki appealed against his conviction but before his appeal could be heard beginning last month, a legal wrangle ensued over an application by the state asking Kariuki to show cause as to why his sentence could not be enhanced. Upon objections by Kariuki's lawyer, Mr. Paul Muite, the high court, however, ruled that the state notice had no legal effect and that Kariuki's sentence would stay. The appeal commenced at the beginning of this month and after both the prosecution and defence councils laid down their submission, the high court reserved judgement.

Following Kariuki's imprisonment in January, the public could only hope that the remaining treason trials would provide deeper insights into the coup attempt. By the time the trials were over in February, ten ex-Kenya Air Force men had been sentenced to death; their trials generally disclosed the clandestine meetings that the soldiers were holding when plotting the coup. Those sentenced to death appealed against their conviction in the high court but only two of them were lucky enough to be set free by the court.

The first soldier to be sentenced to death last year was Col. Bramwel Injeni Njereman, who the court martial described as one of the ringleaders of the coup. Injeni's trial exposed some interesting details about some of the motives behind the coup attempt. A witness, Sgt. James Obuon, related how one of the coup plotters, Sgt. Oteyo Okumu, had expressed his dissatisfaction with the Moi government, cutting dissatisfaction over welfare in the Air Force and in

particular the lack of housing. Injeni's own statement quoted Obuon as accusing an unnamed person of taking money out of the country and building houses in the United States while places like Isiolo did not even have water. Injeni also quoted Obuon as having said that if Ghana and Liberia were ruled by a flight lieutenant and a master sergeant respectively, there was nothing wrong with a senior or private ruling Kenya. He was found guilty of having been recruited into the coup group by a Cpl. Oriwa and of going to

Obuon's house to take an oath voluntarily. He was also said to have attended an unlawful meeting in Obuon's house where the execution of the plot was discussed.

Injeni's death sentence was followed by another for Cpl. Walter Odira Ojode, who was also described as one of the ringleaders of the coup attempt. He was found guilty of having visited Obuon's house to discuss the coup plot. Ojode was also said to have, among other things, disarmed soldiers on August 1, locked up officers and ordered Major Cleophas Mutua, the officer commanding the Tiger F-5 squadron at the Nanyuki air force base, to fly a fighter jet to bomb various targets in Nairobi. By the end of the year, two others Cpl. Edward Oriwa Hongo and Sgt. Joseph Ogidi Obuon had been sentenced to death. The first soldier to receive the death sentence this year was Cpl. Charles Mirasi Odawa who was an aircraft technician at the Nanyuki air base. He was followed to death row by Lt. Onyango Oburu, Snr. Pvt. Madara Wango Bwoga, Cpl. Fenwicks Odera, Snr. Pvt. Edward Adell and Cpl. James Odemba Otieno.

The ex-servicemens appeals against conviction began in October and only two, those of Lt. Onyango Oburu and Snr. Pte. Madara Wango Bwoga were accepted by the high court by the time the appeals came to a close early this month. Bwoga was found guilty of treason in January for arming himself with a Somali sword and a G3 rifle on August 1 last year in furtherance of the coup attempt. He disarmed two privates and arrested a major then ordered airmen to arm themselves. The High Court, however, accepted his appeal on the grounds that he could have armed himself without knowing what was happening. The legal implication was that he could have been charged with

mutiny, but, under the law, he could not be exposed to double jeopardy. The judges ruled that he was wrongfully charged and convicted of treason and set him free.

Oburu, who was the seniormost of the Kenya Air Force men to be sentenced to death, also had his appeal accepted. The court ruled that the overt acts put forward by the military prosecution had not been proved and declared the conviction and sentence null and void. He had been found guilty by the court martial of participating in the planning of the coup and of forcing his colleagues to remain in the guard room at Nanyuki air base on August 1.

In February, President Moi released from custody 61 University of Nairobi students and 412 former airforce soldiers who had been in custody in connection with the attempted coup. Six of their colleagues were, however, convicted and sentenced to still prison terms. At about the same time, a civilian, Mr. Didicus Diego was jailed for 12 years on being convicted of misprision of treason.

Meanwhile, the state dropped the treason charges against Raila Odinga, Otieno Mak'Onyango and Vincent Otieno but their freedom was shortlived as they were arrested as soon as they left the court room and placed in detention. Otieno, a former lecturer at the University of Nairobi, spent eight months in detention and was released last month.

Following the detention of Raila, Otieno and Mak'Onyango, news of the coup slowly faded from the media, and memory of it gradually faded from the public's minds, and the coup and its aftermath were slowly becoming a thing of the past. Later on in the year, former police commissioner Ben Gethi was quietly released from custody where he had been since a few days after the coup.

It was not until October when court martial appeals began that stories of the coup attempt returned to the media. Apart from the pending judgment on Kariuki's appeal, the other appeals that came to an end early this month did not generate as much public interest as the original trials of the appellants. The only other possible sensational

reminder of the coup attempt is the reported return from Tanzania of two of the chief plotters of the coup, Senior Privates Hezekiah Ochuka and Pancreas Okumu. So far, the government has remained silent on the story of their return, which appeared in *The Weekly Review* last month. If and when Ochuka and Okumu are brought to trial, the attempted coup will once again be an issue of great public interest and is likely to receive enormous publicity. Until such a time and in the absence of any other insights into the coup attempt from other sources, the events of August 1 last year, though not forgotten, will continue to fade in the minds of the public and as Kenyans look ahead towards a bright future, those events will just be a dark page in the history of the country. ■

NEW FIVE-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN REVIEWED

Nairobi EAST AFRICAN REPORT ON TRADE AND INDUSTRY in English Jan 84 pp 2, 3

[Text] PRESIDENT Daniel arap Moi has very succinctly, and appropriately, summed up the theme of Kenya's Fifth Five-Year Development Plan (1984-88): "One lesson we have learned is that development requires dedication and hard work. That kind of continuing commitment is explicitly stated in the theme of the Plan: mobilising domestic resources for equitable development."

That is the main theme of the Plan; equitable development. But, as President Moi said in his introduction to the Plan, Kenyans must, to put it "bluntly," work harder, especially where incomes are lowest, and "we must all save more of our incomes to build an even stronger base for future development."

KENYA's Fifth Five-Year Development Plan is a well-conceived and realistic economic document. It is neither too ambitious nor over-optimistic.

The Plan, which became effective on January 1 and covers the calendar years 1984-88 and financial years 1983/84-1987/88, squarely faces up to the hard realities of operating within a difficult international economic situation and the domestic constraints.

Successful development in Kenya, as the Plan says, depends on: A prosperous and growing international economy; adequate flow of foreign aid to finance balance of payments and budget deficits; and a domestic development strategy "effectively implemented" to build on emerging opportunities in a constructive way. The emphasis is on effective implementation.

The basic objectives under the Plan remain the same as at the time of independence. Among these are: political equality; religious freedom; social justice; freedom from want, ignorance and disease; human dignity, including freedom of conscience; equal opportunity for all; and a high and growing national income equitably distributed among the nation's families. The

development process is intended to promote the objectives through the African tradition of mutual social responsibility.

The Plan seeks growth and modernisation without loss of the feeling of kinship and concern for the welfare of others. "Pride in progress, individual or national, can only be justified if it is achieved in ways which benefit all. That is the basic concept of the Plan. Therefore, "all Kenyans must contribute to the development process as well as share in its benefits."

The Plan also spells out Government responsibilities, which are:

- to enable Kenyans to help themselves individually and collectively,
- to improve the quality and distribution of its services by sharing the cost of existing services with those who benefit,
- to provide suitable incentives for production and investment,
- to provide suitable incentives for production and investment,
- to ensure that all Kenyans share in the benefits of development,
- to share the cost of development through an equitable system of taxation, and
- to regulate activities in the private sector.

The private sector, however, gets a solid assurance: that its scope and activities are "protected and expanded" and that its "access to credit and foreign exchange is adequate" during the plan period since "growth in the private sector is the core of the development process".

The Plan does also ignore the effect of progress and modernisation on cultural and family traditions, the idea being to minimise the adverse effects with a view to maximising the overall benefits of the planning process even if it means coming "to grips with the weaknesses" in prior strategies.

"Progress with import-substitution now requires renewed emphasis on our export potential." But the "critical" problem is

mobilising domestic resources for equitable development. That is *the theme* of the Plan, apart from the conceptual aspects which have been mentioned in this article earlier.

The Government, the Plan assures, will play a leading role in reducing the country's dependence on external finance even though it is not easy task since it will mean raising taxes and increasing domestic borrowing, steps which "are not promising in present circumstances".

Debt-service charges grew from 1.6 per cent in 1977 to 5.2 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1981. Besides there was a growth in demand for Government services as a result of the high population growth rate.

A rapid rise in defence spending is another factor cited in the plan besides substantial increases in public sector employment and special food imports as a result of the drought.

Mobilising domestic resources has become a critical matter now because Kenya has been relying on "substantial amounts of foreign resources" since independence to supplement local resources. Grants aside, much of the so-called foreign aid has been purchased with foreign exchange borrowed on both commercial and concessionary terms.

And external debt service now amounts to about two-thirds of new borrowing. In other words about 22 per cent of foreign exchange earnings from the export of goods and services is needed for servicing debts. Taking 25 per cent as the limit, the Plan says Kenya's capacity to borrow has been nearly exhausted.

Therefore, any further increase in external debt must be more closely related to increases in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The writing is on the wall: A larger proportion of development funds must come from domestic sources. And the Plan recognises this basic, hard truth.

However, the problem of high debt-service costs "obscures two important and persistent forces", external and domestic. On the external aspects, the Plan draws attention to the fact that the international purchasing power of a tonne of coffee has fallen by 50 per cent since independence and of tea by 68 per cent.

Thus, despite a four-fold increase in the production of tea since 1964, tea exports in 1981 could finance only 7.7 per cent of imports as compared with 9.6 per cent in 1964. The reason, of course, is the deterioration in the terms of trade. Indeed, if the terms of trade had remained constant, Kenya's exports in 1981 could have financed 70 per cent of the country's imports as compared with the actual figure of 46 per cent. In actual monetary terms, Kenya's exports could have earned K£234.5 million more than was realised and external borrowing would have been that much less.

These are signs of some moderation in the external forces, says the Plan. For example, the high rates of international inflation are subsiding because of the tight monetary policies of the industrialised nations. "As these policies are relaxed, international recovery can begin. But the process is likely to be slow, "gradual and sectorally uneven."

On domestic aspects, the Plan says the country's response to "changing circumstances has often been slow and incomplete. Government expenditures have outrun revenues; some of those expenditures have been unproductive; and the reliance on external resources to develop the nation has been increasing rather than diminishing."

Pressures on the Government budget were aggravated throughout the 1970s by two other important trends: The Government's effort to provide more and better services to the people while reducing the share of the costs falling on the beneficiaries. "This approach put the budget under great strain and reduced the ability of the Government to extend its services to others in great need."

Secondly, Government investments in commercial enterprises grew disproportionately, the 1970s. Many such investments have been unproductive, the average return on direct investments alone being 0.5 per cent in 1978-79.

The chart shows GDP growth target during the Plan period. The coming issues of the *East African Report on Trade and Industry* will have a full analysis of the Plan.

Debt-servicing a big problem

KENYA's debt-service ratio currently stands at more than 13 per cent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In 1976-77, the figure was only 2.8 per cent of the GDP.

Servicing of foreign debts is a major source of concern for the Government since it is a major strain on the country's economy, says the Minister for Finance and Planning, Professor George Saitoti, in the Preface to the Fifth Development Plan (1984-88).

Thus, the Plan's main theme is to mobilise domestic resources for "equitable development". Making the district the focus for development will, therefore, receive a great deal of attention during the Plan period in order to bring "the people in the forefront in their own provision of things for their own welfare".

Kenya has had to "absorb a number of international and local shocks such as the oil crises of 1973 and 1979, the world recession of the early 1980s and the

droughts like those of 1979 and 1980. But there have also been some good years such as the coffee boom in 1977 and 1978 and the country's "spectacular" price stability throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, says Prof. Saitoti.

He adds that a multi-pronged strategy is to be launched for the mobilisation of domestic resources, to "remove the slack from the economy" and increase efficient use of capital and land, as well as manpower.

In the mean time, President Daniel arap Moi has appointed a National Manpower Development Committee to ensure that Kenya has adequate skilled manpower to implement development

plans. The committee's chairman is Mr. Aaron Kandie, the Director of Personnel Management. (See also page 7).

Reverting to Prof. Saitoti's Preface to the Plan, Kenya does not intend to isolate itself. "Rather, we turn to our many friends abroad who have understood our quest for economic sovereignty and have not made their financial aid and technical assistance an insufferable burden," says the Minister.

Assumptions about Changes in Import and Export Prices
(In Kenya Currency)

(Percentages)

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Imports						
Food and Beverages	22.3	5.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.0
Industrial supplies	26.5	9.0	9.0	9.0	8.0	8.0
Fuel and Lubricants	3.5	-3.4	3.0	6.0	6.0	6.0
Machinery and Capital Equipment, Transport Equipment, Other consumer goods ..	24.7	7.5	7.0	6.0	6.0	6.0
Total Imports	13.6	2.4	5.5	6.6	6.4	6.4
Exports						
Coffee	22.3	3.8	5.0	6.3	6.3	6.3
Tea	22.4	3.5	4.1	7.6	7.6	7.6
Petroleum Products	3.5	-3.4	3.0	6.0	6.0	6.0
Others	24.7	7.5	7.0	6.0	6.0	6.0
Total Exports	17.6	-3.0	5.0	6.3	6.3	6.3

GDP Growth Targets (at 1982 prices)

Year ..	Sector	Targets											
		1982		1983		1984		1985		1986		1987	
		Provisional	Expected	Growth Rate %	Level (K£m)	Growth Rate %	Level (K£m)	Growth Rate %	Level (K£m)	Growth Rate %	Level (K£m)	Growth Rate %	Level (K£m)
..	Non Monetary	164.5	3.3	169.9	175.8	3.5	182.0	3.5	188.4	3.5	195.0	3.5	201.8
..	Monetary: Enterprises	876.1	4.5	915.5	956.7	4.5	999.7	4.5	1,044.7	4.5	1,091.8	4.5	1,146.3
..	Agriculture ..	20.4	4.7	21.4	22.5	5.0	23.6	5.0	24.8	5.0	26.0	5.0	27.3
..	Forestry ..	7.2	6.0	7.6	8.1	6.0	8.5	6.0	9.1	6.0	9.6	6.0	10.2
..	Fishing ..	5.6	0.0	5.6	5.7	2.0	5.9	3.0	6.0	3.0	6.2	3.0	6.4
..	Mining and Quarrying	371.3	2.0	378.7	390.1	3.0	411.1	6.5	437.8	7.0	468.5	7.5	503.6
..	Manufacturing ..	118.2	3.0	114.7	114.7	0.0	116.4	4.0	121.1	4.5	126.5	5.0	132.9
..	Building and Construction	45.4	4.0	47.2	50.0	6.0	53.0	6.0	56.2	6.0	59.6	6.0	63.2
..	Electricity and Water	158.5	4.0	164.8	172.2	4.5	180.0	5.0	189.8	5.2	198.8	5.5	208.7
..	Transport, Storage, Communication	299.2	0.0	299.2	305.2	2.0	316.2	4.0	328.8	4.5	343.6	5.0	360.8
..	Trade, Restaurants and Hotels	194.9	8.0	210.5	221.0	5.0	233.0	6.0	246.9	7.0	264.2	7.0	282.7
..	Finance, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services	140.9	6.5	150.1	159.1	6.0	168.7	6.0	178.8	6.0	189.5	6.0	200.9
..	Ownership of Dwellings	62.3	4.8	65.3	69.2	6.0	73.4	6.5	78.1	7.0	83.6	7.0	89.5
..	Other Services	2,299.9	3.5	2,380.6	2,474.5	3.9	2,589.5	5.1	2,721.3	5.4	2,867.9	5.8	3,033.5
..	Total Enterprises	37.0	6.5	39.4	42.6	8.0	46.0	8.0	49.6	9.0	54.1	9.0	59.0
..	Domestic Services	449.2	3.0	462.7	478.9	3.5	498.5	4.1	522.0	5.0	548.1	5.1	576.0
..	Government Services	2,786.1	3.5	2,882.7	2,996.0	3.9	3,134.0	4.6	3,292.9	5.4	3,470.1	5.7	3,668.5
..	TOTAL MONETARY	2,950.6	3.5	3,052.6	3,171.8	3.9	3,316.0	5.0	3,481.3	5.3	3,665.1	5.6	3,870.3
..	TOTAL GDP AT FACTOR COST	469.7		495.7	515.1		538.6		565.4		595.2		628.6
..	Indirect Taxes less Subsidies	3,420.3		3,548.3	3,686.9		3,854.6		4,046.7		4,260.3		4,498.9
..	TOTAL GDP AT MARKET PRICES	1,000		1,158.3	1,866		1,240.3		1,309.2		1,381.8		1,459.0
..	GDP Deflator 1982 = 1,000	3,420.3		4,110.1	4,374.9		4,780.6		5,298.0		5,886.7		6,563.8
..	Total GDP at Current Market Prices												

PLAN TO EXPORT MANUFACTURED, ASSEMBLED GOODS DETAILED

Nairobi EAST AFRICAN REPORT ON TRADE AND INDUSTRY in English Jan 84 p 9

[Text] This being the "Year of Export in Kenya, manufacturers of Kenya goods should be able to embark upon a major export drive. Many of the goods that can be exported to the PTA countries include textiles, cosmetics, battery cells, canned fruit and juices, tea, coffee, petroleum products, spare part kits, paper and paper products, books, assembled vehicles, electrical goods, assembled television and radio sets as well as tape-recorders, trailers, agricultural implements, insecticide, pharmaceuticals, cigarettes and tobacco, wines and spirits, corned beef and other meat products, horticultural products, shoes and other leather goods and so on.

Prospects for Kenyan manufacturers of spare parts and ancillaries to boost their business with neighbouring countries have increased considerably with the Arusha Accord, especially the reopening of the Kenya-Tanzania border.

The Kenya Government has consistently urged local manufacturers to take advantage of the new opportunities offered to them by the spirit of rapprochement among the partners of the erstwhile East African Community (EAC) as well as of the PTA treaty among the Southern and East African nations.

There has, meanwhile, been growing concern at the national level over the continuing worldwide economic recession.

The situation reached a near crisis point in the last couple of years when some companies had to suspend or curtail their operations because of a shortage of raw materials owing to a scarcity of foreign exchange.

For some companies, it was a painful and bitter experience. Several others were forced to tighten their belts and the number of unemployed increased considerably.

In the face of the difficulties, a new

consciousness emerged among Kenyans: the will to be self-reliant so as to be able to weather any economic storms in the future.

In January last year, the Governor of the Central Bank of Kenya, Mr. Philip Ndegwa, met with manufacturers and businessmen and made it clear to them that the Government was determined to do something about the situation. Mr. Ndegwa said he had personally gone through more than 2,000 import licence applications, many of them for spare parts.

He said: "One of the conclusion I have reached is that many of the so-called spare-parts can be produced and, at times, are produced in Kenya without much difficulty. But there appears to be some reluctance to buy locally, mainly because of the so-called old trading connections with companies which initially supplied the main equipment."

Mr. Ndegwa added that the Central Bank would henceforth discourage blanket importation of spare-parts in a bid to encourage local industrialists to develop the spare-parts industry in Kenya so that the country could dispense with such imports.

He said the Central Bank would continue to approve applications for foreign exchange in respect of essential imports but not for spare-parts which could be made available or produced locally.

RURAL, URBAN HOUSING IN THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Nairobi KENYA BUILDER SUPPLEMENT in English Jan/Feb 84 pp 3, 5, 7

[Text] THE objective of the Government's housing policy since Independence has been to provide adequate shelter for all, both in urban and rural areas. Rapid urbanisation since Independence has resulted in the problem of proliferation of unplanned urban settlements lacking in essential services such as potable water and sanitation. During the First Plan period (1966-70) the public sector produced a total of 9,500 homes and service sites.

Most of these, however, were of the middle and high cost categories. In the subsequent Plans the emphasis was shifted away from the construction of conventional homes and towards implementation of site and service programmes, as well as the upgrading of sub-standard urban settlements.

Most of the public funding earmarked for housing has, in fact, been devoted to the provision and improvement of shelter for the urban poor. However, during each of the three Plan periods performance lagged substantially behind Plan targets. As a result, the accumulated shortfall in dwelling units for the urban poor by 1983 was very large. The Government has encouraged co-operative housing as an important means of mobilising domestic resources. It has also provided housing for civil servants through pool housing, mortgage housing and institutional housing programmes.

In rural housing, the main problem has been quality rather than quantity. Government loans to both individuals

and co-operative societies in rural areas, technical assistance in the form of house-type plans, construction of model houses using locally available materials and dissemination of results of research into improved construction and design standards for rural dwellings have contributed to some improvement in the quality of rural housing.

Role of Public Sector

The Government, through the Ministry of Works, Housing and Physical Planning, is responsible for the design, supervision and maintenance of Government buildings. In addition it supervises sea works protection

Well planned housing of a reasonable standard when combined with essential services affords dignity, a sense of security and proper status in society for the individual. Housing is also a significant investment with considerable linkages in the economy.

In recognition of this the Government has continued to seek ways and means of solving the housing problems relating to essential services.

Policies and Objectives

Considering the problems that have faced the Government's shelter delivery efforts in the past and the need to mobilise domestic resources for equitable development, among the main specific housing policies and objectives are:

(i) To formulate and adopt realistic and performance-oriented building standards especially in the area of low-cost housing.

(ii) To encourage tenants and landlords protection by strengthening and publicising the role played by rent control tribunals.

(iii) To promote self-help in housing construction both in urban and rural areas so as to increase housing stock at a reduced construction cost.

(iv) To intensify research on and use of local building materials and construction techniques.

(v) To promote development of flats for sale through legislation for the registration of titles to individual flats.

(vi) To explore the feasibility of instituting a housing levy whereby employers contribute towards a Consolidated Housing Fund.

The estimated accumulated shortfall of dwelling units needed to be built has increased phenomenally over the past four Plan periods. Although most of the public funding earmarked for housing has been devoted to provision of shelter for the urban poor the actual number of units added to the housing stock remains significantly inadequate for the growing population in our urban centres.

Urban Low-Cost Housing

The new low-cost building by-law study recommendations will be implemented by initiating the necessary legislation to permit construction of low-cost housing units within urban centres using non-conventional but functional locally produced building materials. Appropriate demonstration units will be provided at first phase of every new housing project to demonstrate research findings on low-cost building techniques. Government strategies to produce low-cost urban housing for the benefit of low-income earners will be:

(i) **Site and Service Programme** — Site and service projects will be continued. They are those in which residential plots or land are provided with basic services like water sanitation, roads, surface drainage, street-lighting and allocated to eligible applicants so that they can gradually develop the houses with permanent materials over a period of time using self-help efforts. Materials loan and technical assistance are offered to plot allottees.

(ii) **Settlement Up-grading** — Large unplanned settlements or slum areas of temporary materials without proper sanitation posing a fire and health hazard have sprung up in major towns. An estimated 30 per cent of our urban population live in them. To up-grade these dwellings will involve the preparation of physical layout plans, regularisation of land tenure by issuing titles and the provision of basic services to encourage beneficiaries to improve their housing structures and the environment through self-help efforts. Assistance will be offered through materials loan, technical advice, provision of water points and toilets blocks. Since it is the policy of the Government not to demolish urban housing without giving alternative accommodation, those households displaced during settlement up-grading will be relocated in re-settlement plots.

Co-operative Housing

A significant proportion of undeveloped urban land is currently held by co-operative societies. To promote the development of this land, the newly formed National Co-operative Housing Union (NACHU) will be supported in order to provide technical, financial and management assistance to both existing and new housing co-operatives as a means of accelerating housing provision through the medium of co-operative societies.

CIVIL SERVANTS' HOUSING

The Civil Service comprises a large part of the urban labour force. A single strategy for providing it with housing is therefore inadequate. A combination of mortgage, pool and institutional housing strategies will continue to be adopted for this target group. Through mortgage housing, civil servants will be encouraged to own houses, care being exercised to avoid hidden or direct subsidies. The bulk of civil servants' housing will remain the pool housing programmes, which provides rental accommodation to Government employees.

By increasing the stock of pool housing, the currently large budget spent in renting housing in the open

market for this programme will be gradually reduced. House allowance will continue to be paid to those civil servants who seek accommodation in the open rental market. Institutional housing will remain the responsibility of

(i) Co-operating in the opening up of either private or public land for urban development, thus curbing land speculation.

Planned Physical Housing Output 1984-88

	Serviced Plots	Rental	Upgrading	Mortgage/Tenant Purchase or owner Builder	Total
Nairobi.. ..	7,000	400	200	1,150	8,750
Mombasa	2,300	—	1,200	—	3,500
Kisumu	1,500	100	3,500	—	5,100
Other Municipalities ..	1,300	200	500	—	2,000
Other Towns	664	210	—	—	874
Rural Housing	—	—	—	4,200	4,200
Third Urban	3,700	—	6,300	500	10,500
USAID Project	1,500	400	1,500	—	3,400
Mortgage Housing	—	—	—	100	100
Project (NHC)	—	—	—	1,800	1,800
Staff Mortgage (Govt.) ..	—	—	—	80	80
Urban Pool Housing (Govt.)	—	500	—	—	500
Institutional Housing ..	—	4,000	—	—	4,000
Local Authority Housing ..	—	4,000	—	—	4,000
Private Sector Development	—	4,300	—	6,400	10,700
TOTAL	17,964	14,110	13,200	14,230	59,504

those Government departments whose nature and place of work require the employees to be housed within or near their institutions.

PRIVATE SECTOR PARTICIPATION

In the past, the private sector has for various reasons concentrated its efforts on medium and high-cost housing. While Government does not wish to closely direct private sector investment in housing, there is ample justification for involvement of the formal private sector in the implementation of low- to medium-cost housing. Since enormous financial, land, and management resources are held at the domestic level by the private sector, the following incentives will underpin a strategy for mobilising these latent resources and enhancing the participation of this sector in housing development:

(ii) Undertaking joint ventures between approved local authorities and private developers to achieve speedy low/medium cost housing development.

(iii) Injecting long-term money into the mortgages market to stimulate and back up increased private investment into housing.

(iv) Promoting the development of a secondary mortgage market in the economy.

(v) Providing technical assistance to such housing agencies as co-operatives and land companies in the planning, design and building of housing.

(vi) Enacting the Estate Agents Bill to regulate the activities of estate agents.

RURAL HOUSING

There is generally inadequate data on the state of rural housing. During the Plan period, a housing survey/census will be conducted to provide base line data for use in the design of a suitable

strategy for intervening in this area. The primary responsibility for rural shelter improvement will, however, continue to lie with the rural households themselves. Subject to availability of funds, Government will continue to provide rural home improvement loans and also intensify the promotion of appropriate environmental enhancement measures within the rural habitat.

HOUSING PROGRAMME

The National Housing Programme for

this Plan period is more fully described in the tables below. It is envisaged that the public sector will spend K£90.6 million and the private sector with K£73.8 million during the Plan period.

The following institutions will participate in the implementation of this programme as set out below:

(i) Housing Department

Formulating, reviewing and modifying policy and programme implementation guidelines for shelter and urban development projects.

- Preparing the National Housing Programme, designing guidelines for its implementation, and co-ordinating the activities of all implementing agencies.
- Financial and physical programming of housing and urban development investment.

(ii) National Housing Corporation

- on lending development funds to local authorities, co-operatives, etc.
- Executing projects in those local authorities that lack project implementation capability.
- Providing technical assistance to local authorities.

(iii) Housing Research and Development Unit

- Initiating undertaking research projects on low-cost housing, urban

improvement programmes, building materials construction techniques, house plan designs, training and community development aspects of housing and urban development programmes.

(iv) Local Authorities

- Identifying housing and urban investment needs.

- Project planning, preparation and implementation at grassroot level.

(v) Housing Finance Institutions

- Mobilising financial resources for housing development.

- Participating in the proposed secondary mortgage market.

(vi) Private Developers

- Mobilising land, financial, technical and management resources for low and medium cost housing.

- Packaging suitable housing projects jointly with specific local authorities.

(vii) National Co-operative Housing Union

- Participating in the shelter delivery process.
- Promoting increased housing delivery by co-operative societies.

BRIEFS

SHELTER AFRIQUE--Kenya has urged more African countries to join Shelter Afrique so that housing problems in rural and urban areas can be eliminated in the continent. The call was made by the Minister for Works, Housing and Physical Planning, Mr. Arthur Magugu, when he opened the second annual general meeting of Shelter Afrique in Nairobi. He noted that only 23 of the 51 OAU member states had joined Shelter Afrique along with the African Development Bank and Africa-Re. "May I appeal to other OAU member states and the various regional and international organisations to enrol as shareholders in order to strengthen the financial standing of Shelter Afrique", he said. The appeal was urgent for, "as we are all aware, the housing problem in Africa continues to outstrip our efforts at containing it." He noted that "not a single country on the continent has managed to effectively address this serious challenge to uplifting of the living standards of our people." Mr. Magugu underlined that a third of the urban population in Africa lived in sub-standard conditions, while in rural areas the conditions were "equally poor" and "less visible to policy-makers and planners." [Text] [Nairobi KENYA BUILDER SUPPLEMENT in English Jan/Feb 84 p 11]

CSO: 3400/629

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC CRISIS SAID BREWING

Paris POLITIQUE AFRICAINE in French No 12, Dec 83 pp 76-79

[Article by Philippe L'Hoiry: "System Crisis in Malawi "]

[Text] Last July Malawi celebrated 19 years of independence and the 25th anniversary of President-for-Life H. Kamuzu Banda's return to the country. The atmosphere was not one of a patriarch "ending his reign:" meticulous attention to organizing the festivities; demonstrations by various factions, militia, army and police units' traditional dances in which the president participated; and an enthusiastic crowd.¹ And yet, from 1964 to the present, the country has never experienced such a grave crisis.² For several months, a veiled struggle has been taking place in the seats of power. The opposition, already divided, has suffered two hard blows with the assassination, in Harari, of Attati Mpakati, leader of the Socialist League of Malawi, and the arrest and subsequent condemnation to death of Orton Chirwa, leader of the Malawi Freedom Movement who had returned to the country secretly, according to some, and at the official invitation of the president according to others. At the same time, the potential successors to the sick, eighty-year-old president are indulging in an already deadly tribal war. Dick Matenje, secretary general of the only political party (Malawi Congress Party); Aaron Gadama, minister of the Central Region; John Sangala, minister of Health; and David Chiwanga, member of Parliament; have sacrificed their lives for their opposition to the all-powerful clan of Tembo-Kadzamira. The latter represents the "opportunistic" branch of power-holders: Cecilia Kadzamira, official "hostess" and companion of the president for 25 years, and her uncle John Tembo, governor of the Central Bank, have placed members of their family in numerous key posts from the university to the Office of Marketing, including the banks and Press Holdings, the parastatal commercial empire. Despite the official version of an automobile accident, the brutal elimination of popular, well-known persons will be difficult to forget this time, even in a country where politics remains a carefully-avoided topic of conversation. John Tembo, who it was thought the president would suggest as his successor, collided with the categorical opposition of the ministers in a context where the presence of O. Chirwa (condemned to death but still not executed) remains an important threat to his political ambitions. In the eyes of many, in any case, the recent events tarnished the president's image.

All this evening of scores is undoubtedly politically motivated, but it is nevertheless indicative of several crises in a system which flattered itself on knowing how to combine economic growth and political stability. These crises are, in fact, natural in any economic or political system. The extreme personalization of power has left no place for a real institutionalization of politics. Nobody attaches much importance to the laws of succession specified by the constitution. The absence of an heir apparent to the president permits envisaging a power vacuum, thus exacerbating both the fear and the ambitions of the political class. Many Malawians now regret "the accumulated errors of 20 years:" the existence of a politically credible prime minister would have permitted an easy "Kenyan-type" transition. Some also question the value of information and communication channels "filtering" through numerous hierarchical transmission levels in a system where the man at the top holds such extensive decision-making power. For many, the president no longer seems to be in touch with the country, and this is not uniquely because of his advanced age. The single-party system is another hotbed of crisis: heavily structured, it is still perceived as well rooted in the masses, even if it is allied with patronage and coercion. The disappearance of its secretary general, the second most powerful man in the government, seems to have diminished its importance and revealed its fragility. It is also said to "beware" of the interior where opposition partisans have infiltrated, while certain internal trends seem abstract. The partisan's organization, a feather in the government's cap, could easily collapse at the first sight of the army in the streets of Blantyre, Zomba or Lilongwe. Such a military intervention from a basically "apolitical" army, would not displease the numerous Malawians who worry about potential disturbances, especially when ethnically-based, which could stir up the war between the clans competing for the position of heir apparent to the president.³

But it is certainly in the economic domain that the crisis is the most serious, for there the crisis is structural. The economic strategy since independence of the powers-that-be has been characterized by a growing "division of labor:" the small peasants feed the country, while the large plantations reserve export crops to themselves. In order to sell their produce, the peasants must, in effect, go through the Office of Agricultural Marketing which offers lower prices than those in the market, while the plantations have direct access to the market. Simultaneously, the profits realized by the Office of Marketing have been used, for the most part, to finance the creation and development of plantations, only a small portion having been reinvested in the sector which produced it. This non-incentive policy on prices paid to producers has had the additional effect of encouraging a movement of the peasant work force toward employment on the plantations, whether in the form of strict salaried employment or in the form of the "peasant-renter" selling his harvest to the owner at a fixed price below the market price. This manpower transfer corresponds to the needs of the plantations which have been steadily expanding during the 70's. For the peasants, the balance sheet is currently negative: their real purchasing power has fallen, and the working conditions are often very arduous. Having sustained, by their labor, and financed, by their sales, the development of exports, the peasants have not received any true gain in

return: the government has been able to maintain growth levels through the end of the 70's, but the balance sheet remains limited in regard to development. Health and education remain consistently among the lowest budget items, and salaries cannot keep pace with inflation.⁴ How long will the peasants accept "working hard in the fields," as an official slogan urges them to do, without experiencing a concomitant improvement in their situation?

The plantation owners are also uneasy in the face of falling export prices and the discouraging prospects in this domain (for tobacco especially.) Bankruptcy has already struck the smallest plantations. The government is becoming more and more selective in the allocation of credit to the large plantation owners and is beginning to limit the possibilities of expansion for the plantations, as much because of land pressure as because of the alarming level of soil erosion. Currently plantation owners belong to the political elite (ministers, members of Parliament, party cadres) and are named to these strategic economic posts by the powers-that-be which they support. With the end of the boom in the 70's, the natural contradiction of this nation vested by a class of apprentice bourgeoisie is coming to light: the relative autonomy of the patronage government could lead it into conflict with the interests of a political-economic class which it has helped to create. In this context, the battles at the top take on an additional dimension. The parody of the legislative elections last July was unable to make the distance which exists between the rural masses and the approaching power vacuum. If Malawi is able to overcome the political difficulties of the presidential succession, she will still need to face the problems posed by the economic and social strategy instituted by the government nearly two decades ago.

FOOTNOTES

1. See J.-P. Langellier, "Fin de regne au Malawi," [End of Reign in Malawi], *Le Monde*, 16-17 August, 1983.
2. Almost immediately following independence, a conflict erupted between the president and six of his ministers which ultimately resulted in their exile.
3. The recent transfer of many officers tends to reinforce the rumors of a military intervention.
4. Minimum wage, which is set by the government, is, in practice, at the level of current salaries.

12308

CSO: 3419/329

MAURITIUS

BRIEFS

RAMGOOLAM NEW GOVERNOR GENERAL--Formerly the prime minister from 1968 to 1982, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, who heads the labor party, became the fifth governor-general of Mauritius, the queen of England's representative on Wednesday 28 December. Sir Ramgoolam was to have become the first president of the "Republic of Mauritius" if the constitutional reform bill had been adopted (Le Monde, 20 December). He replaces Sir Dayendranath Burrenchobay as governor-general. (AFP, Reuters) [Text] /Paris LE MONDE in French 30 Dec 83 p 57 9895

CSO: 3419/341

POST COUP SITUATION IN COUNTRY ANALYZED

Paris LE MONDE in French 11 Jan 84 pp 1, 4

[Article by Laurent Zecchini: "Nigeria After the Coup d'Etat"]

[Text] "Buhari, Our Messiah!" The headline of WEEKLY FOCUS, a popular newspaper, simply translates, with a little added emphasis, the tone of all the Nigerian press--which had remained free of its commentaries--scarcely ten days after the military coup d'etat which brought General Mohammed Buhari to power. Several examples show that those expressions of relief are neither futile nor limited to a particular intellectual elite.

The man on the street candidly states that he is happy with the departure of the president, Mr Shehu Shagari, and a whole political class that he identified with corruption, which had become a way of life in Nigerian society, and even more, with spiraling price hikes for basic products during the last few months. These reactions bear witness to a profound discrepancy with those that, in the rest of the continent as well as in the Western democracies, followed the announcement of the coup d'etat on 31 December, that is, the end of the "democratic experiment" in Africa's most populous country.

Differing from international opinion, the Nigerians have felt no "discouragement" insofar as the military here do not have a bad reputation and because, while living in a system of formal democracy, the very concept of "democracy" is not rooted in the collective mentality. Moreover, the change in regime was carried out under almost "acceptable conditions: just one death, Brigadier General Brahim Bako, killed by a captain of the presidential guard during the arrest of the former chief of state (Le Monde, 5 January). Since then, the federal territory has been calm.

In the streets of Lagos, the presence of the military is so discreet that nothing leads one to think that a coup d'etat has just taken place. Even at the airport, baggage searches go on with no particular problems. Even if, on the road that leads to the center of the city, automobile passengers are forced to give a few nairas (the national currency) to the soldiers, there is nothing abnormal there, so inherent has this practice always been in Nigerian "customs." In this country, where public buildings are sometimes burned to destroy proof of fraudulent bookkeeping and where assault is not even newsworthy any more, a modest toll levied by poorly-paid soldiers is no big deal...

The resumption of everyday activities should not fool people, however: on the political level, the military authorities have begun a sorting-out process on a country-wide scale which more and more is taking on the appearance of a witch hunt. The eight-day period granted on 31 December to all former political officials to turn themselves in has been, on the whole, observed. Except for President Shagari and his main collaborators, who have been jailed in a camp in the capital, Camp Bozzy, most of the ministers, political officials and governors of the 19 states of the federation turned themselves in before Friday 6 January, the date of the expiration of the ultimatum.

However, numerous key figures are on the run, and the government does not hesitate to appeal to the population's "public-spiritedness" to help it in its searches. This is most notably the case of Adisa Akinloye, former national president of the NPN (National Party of Nigeria), President Shagari's party; Joseph Wayas, former president of the senate; Maitama Bello Yusuf, former minister of commerce; Umaru Dikko, former minister of transportation and aviation and the "strong man" of the preceding regime; Ralph Obioha, member of the chamber of representatives; and Ishaku Ibrahim, a businessman and NPN sponsor.

A good number of them having sought refuge abroad, notably in London and New York, the military authorities have the somewhat futile intention of asking for their extradition. Nigeria's press today devotes considerable attention to highlighting the embezzlement and all sorts of trafficking in which the fallen politicians were engaged. Every day brings its share of revelations concerning several thousand sacks of rice or beans hidden in warehouses for purposes of speculation.

Corruption and misappropriation of funds are denounced so much more virulently that it is easy today to find scapegoats among the known figures associated most of the time with the NPN.

This collective venting of pent-up emotion against the former dominant party is, to a certain degree, justified: as the crucible of power, the NPN exercised a sort of pre-eminence in corruption through the control that it wielded through governmental structures over economic life.

The example of rice is eloquent: a 50-kilo sack bought for 21 nairas (1)--largely on the foreign market--was resold at 35 nairas to NPN wholesalers who, in turn, sold it at 50 nairas to retailers. In the market the same amount of rice could bring 80 nairas. In this field, the action of the military has been effective for now. The prices of most everyday consumer products has gone down since the coup d'etat, most notably following the apparently spontaneous intervention of groups of armed soldiers. In Lagos, Cabalar, Maideguri, Jos, Kaduna, the same scenes occurred: soldiers showed up at the markets to force merchants to lower their prices. In several places, minor confrontations took place. It was, however, during such an operation that a soldier was killed--the second official victim since 31 December--by troops who had received the order to put an end to these anarchical shows of authority.

No one knows yet how far the military's desire to shed light on the former regime's bad habits will go. Sources close to the supreme military council indicate that it will be difficult to avoid public trials. Such a decision would answer the government's concern to acquire legitimacy a fortiori by showing how necessary the army's intervention was. The authorities maintain that the arrested politicians will be made to confess where the millions of nairas which were embezzled from state coffers are now.

Their bank accounts were frozen right at the beginning. This desire to clean up likewise led authorities to seize private planes and several hundred official cars. Land borders as well as departing flights remain closely watched.

It is at the end of the week that the make-up of the government--within which civilians would be clearly in the majority--should be made public. Beyond these uncertainties, the Nigerian press today seems especially preoccupied with showing just how rife with perversity Nigerian-style "democracy" was. This relentlessness is no doubt very instructive for the future. The soldiers--whether these or others--are not ready to return to their barracks. The problem of returning to democracy, stated General Buhari, has not been brought up with the supreme military council.

(1) 1 naira: 11.75 FF

9895

CSO: 3419/341

NIGERIA

BRIEFS

FISHING RIGHTS AGREEMENTS--Nigeria has received permission to fish in the territorial waters of Mauritania, Guinea and Equatorial Guinea. A draft agreement is under way with Senegalese authorities. [Text] [Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French No 69, Dec 83 p 207 9895

CSO: 3419/341

COOLING DOWN OF CASAMANCE UNREST REPORTEDLY MUST BE DONE QUICKLY

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] The deterioration of the situation in Casamance--Senegal's southern province where, at the last count, 25 people were killed during Sunday's clashes--was all the more surprising because that West African country has always been a model of peace, freedom and stability in a troubled continent. For many people the former French colony was a picture of the success of one of the few pluralist democracies in Africa which had been spared, to a large extent, the ethnic tensions endured by its neighbors since independence.

Yet the weekend explosion of separatist violence is a reminder that after last year's incidents in Casamance, Senegal is not totally safe from the fatal consequences of the boundary lines inherited from the colonial era. The fertile southern region, the country's unquestionable "bread basket" feels geographically isolated because it remains cut off from the rest of the country by Gambia, partner in a Senegambian Federation which remains relatively loose since it was established on 1 February 1982.

The Diola population of Casamance is also subjected to the domination of the Wolof ethnic majority who, they feel, looks down on them. The current food shortages created by a severe drought has resulted in a migration to the southern province obviously contributing to an increase of tensions. President Diouf tried to defuse the crisis by allowing Casamance a greater representation in the Parliament, the government and the ruling Socialist Party. But these measures have not had all the anticipated results.

In the grip of severe financial difficulties, Senegal could do without this additional problem. Mr Senghor's successor, finding himself in a position that forces him to depend heavily on international generosity as he tries to improve a shaky economy, would probably like for the opposition--no less than 14 political parties--to become more associated with the austerity measures introduced last summer.

So far that collaboration has not materialized and his opponents are still challenging, not without some reason, the outcome of the general elections held on 27 February. Diouf's Socialist Party holds 111 of the 120 seats in Parliament. The Senegalese Democratic Party of Mr Wade won 8 seats and another seat went to Prof Cheikh Anta Diop who continues to refuse to take up his mandate as a gesture of protest. Needless to say, instead of enjoying the active support of the Parliament, President Diouf is faced with a rubber-stamp chamber.

The popularity enjoyed by the Senegalese president during the first 2 years of Mr Senghor's difficult succession has dropped this year and the Casamance clashes will only increase that trend. He must find very quickly the means of calming down people's feelings in Casamance and this may entail strengthening the Senegambian Federation so that Gambia does not continue to be a barrier separating Senegal from its isolated southern province.

8796

CSO: 3419 /309

BRIEFS

BATTLE GROUNDS DESCRIBED--Villages destroyed, hungry, houses pillaged, coffee trees overrun by vegetation, tattered military and civilian barricades which emerge from the bush. This is the sight which greets the eye in the triangle northwest of Kampala where 150,000 people, according to one official estimate, have been displaced following battles between the army and guerrillas. For the first time since the army offensive against the dissidents at the beginning of the year, foreign journalists have been authorized to visit this zone following President Milton Obote's appeal last month for foreign aid. Accompanied by Major Edward Rurangaranga, minister of state attached to the prime minister, a special envoy from the French Press Agency visited a dozen localities in Mubende District, all along the road from Kampala to Hoima. At Kidandwa, and Bukomero, 80 kilometers from the capital, and at Lwamata a little further on, the villages present a scene of houses with roofs, windows and doors torn off leaving only the skeleton of the original houses. The frames of primary and secondary schools in Bukomero are empty: teachers and students have moved further south to more secure areas. Soldiers are numerous throughout the zone, and, in each locality there is a barricade, perhaps only the trunk of a tree between two barrels or the metallic frame of a bed. Soldiers sitting under the trees chew nonchalantly on sugar cane. Mubende is an extremely fertile region, and, south of the trail, the situation is normal. [Excerpt] [Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French No 69, Dec 83, p 24] 12308

CSO: 3419/329

PRESIDENT THOMAS SANKARA DISCUSSES TRADE UNIONS, CDR'S, FRENCH RELATIONS

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 23 Jan 84 p 13

[Interview with Captain Thomas Sankara, president of the National Council of the Revolution of Upper Volta, by Andre Brecourt; date and place not specified]

[Text] Captain Thomas Sankara, president of the National Council of the Revolution (CNR) and chief of state of Upper Volta since 4 August 1983, was born on 21 December 1949 in Yako, in the north-central part of the country. This 34 year old captain, who studied in Madagascar and in France, is quite different from the "excited, pro-Libyan" whom certain elements of the press, which are always given to cliches, have seen fit to depict. He is a smiling man, relaxed, full of humor, and frank. He spoke to us for a long time on a Sunday evening in his office at the Council of the Entente, toward the end of our 12-day stay in Upper Volta, during which we met him on three occasions. At the conclusion of this interview, he told us that he knew our newspaper from long ago and that he wished to take advantage of this opportunity to "send his greetings to all of our readers."

[Question] A great deal has been written about the young Upper Voltan revolution. It surprised people by its style and disturbed many others. Can you tell us why this was so?

[Answer] It is true that our revolution disturbs and surprises most people. It is surprising in the sense that it has made a clear break with the cliches generally expected when there is an assumption of power by military officers in an ordinary coup d'etat. What we have done here is not what could be called a coup d'etat. There has been a popular uprising, very carefully prepared, which has included progressive, revolutionary, and democratic elements who sought to put an end to a regime feudally linked to imperialism.

That is what surprised those who do not wish to understand the direction in which the history of the African peoples is evolving. What is also surprising is that the Upper Voltan military are far from being poor old soldiers like those known elsewhere or like those that certain people here imagine that they are. A great majority of the Upper Voltan military are highly politicized. They include men

who are closely linked to the people and who share their aspirations and daily struggles. They know who is the principal enemy and how to fight against him.

If our revolution is disturbing, it is essentially because of the example which it could provide and not only to this sub-region of Africa. We have not imported our revolution, and still less do we wish to export it. It is a result of an historical process, scientifically verified, and inevitable in the transformation of the struggle which the social classes wage against each other. This struggle has ended in this form of revolution which only asks an opportunity to develop itself further. The same causes will produce the same results, wherever they take place.

[Question] You intend to go forward and quickly. However, feudalism remains strong in the countryside, as well as among the compradore bourgeoisie. Both of these groups have a firm grasp on the economy. What measures do you intend to take to limit their power?

[Answer] There is a first step which might be taken, consisting of issuing decrees and ordinances. We refuse to take such action, because that is essentially bureaucratic. The second step might consist of drawing the masses of the people away from obscurantism. That is what we are determined to do.

Fighting against obscurantism means letting each Upper Voltan raise his level of political awareness and becoming a people who work for ourselves and not for someone else. This process has its difficulties in the sense that access to knowledge is still controlled by the bourgeoisie and the feudal forces. We are determined to confront them, and to do that, we intend to accelerate the process of democratization so that we can drive them out of our country.

This process has its excesses, but how could things be otherwise? We are reasonably well-informed about what is happening in the countryside. For the first time peasants dare to inform the authorities of the abuses of which they are the victims. This is not a case of informing on other people, contrary to certain statements to this effect. Rather, it is the beginning of a growing awareness among our peasants, who intend in this way to participate effectively in the daily operations of the government.

We intend to demystify these forces of the past and to present them as they are to our people. That is why we are in favor of a responsible, militant press and of a radio service which will make it possible for us to make ourselves heard in the most remote corners of the country and in the languages which our compatriots understand best.

[Question] Your country is going through the experience of having "Committees for the Defense of the Revolution." Now, it seems that these organizations also serve as places of refuge for people who are openly anti-revolutionary. How do you plan to act to clean up the ranks of the CDR's so that these committees can really play their role?

[Answer] It is true that there are all kinds of people in the CDR's. You will find in them both reactionaries, who were cleverly introduced there, as well as opportunists from the Left. The difficulty is not limited to these two categories.

You have to understand that the CDR's are the essential weapon, the front line shock troops in the battle which will make it possible to ensure that the revolution is victorious. We are also engaged in cleaning them out, that is, in disposing of counterrevolutionary elements. That can only be done by means of patient but determined development in the democratization of our political structures.

We have already had some results in this respect!

For example, former government leaders have been removed from office on the basis of irrefutable facts brought forward by the CDR's. On the other hand, other CDR's have seen their activities condemned by others and have been forced to reelect their delegates and to replace their leaders. There are also excesses of all kinds. They are normal, foreseeable.

The Upper Volta cadre appears on scene, an intellectual, who has left his petit bourgeois surroundings to join the revolution. Then there is the Upper Volta worker who has lived for 23 years under a neo-colonial regime. These two people do not have the same understanding and attitude toward the revolution. One of them intends to carry out the revolution, wearing white gloves, while the other thinks that the revolution should give him freedom to do whatever he wants. We understand these two kinds of behavior very well.

Our revolution has conquered the attitude of fatalism. Today the people have the opportunity to express themselves. Today the people are liberating their instincts. Tomorrow it will be their consciences which will be liberated and mobilized.

[Question] In your view what position should the trade unions have in the present process?

[Answer] The trade unions in Upper Volta have a long, fighting tradition, even though they are not homogeneous in membership. We have both progressives as well as reactionaries among them. The reactionaries were the strong right arms of certain leaders under former governments. Now, when it is time for revolution, we have no choice. We cannot fail to block the path for the reactionaries, whatever the organization in which they take refuge, whether it is in the trade unions or in the clandestine political parties, because we know that they will not spare their efforts to try to overthrow us. For the rest, shortly after 4 August 1983 a leader of one of these "trade unions" announced loudly and clearly that he would fight against our revolution, with sword in hand, if necessary.

Regarding progressive trade unions whose activities are consistent with the direction of the people's interests, we are counting on their support in going forward. Through their efforts to mobilize the people they have a major role in our revolutionary process. On the other hand we don't want to see a kind of rivalry develop between the CDR's and the trade unions. We are against that. For the time being we don't think that there can be any opposition between these trade unions and the CDR's, from the point of view of revolutionary principles. Still, we believe that there can be opposition between them from the subjective point of view, and we will have the courage to fight against such differences in the open. We will denounce these practices as examples of Left opportunism.

[Question] Shortly before your departure for Niamey, on 28 October in a statement which attracted a great deal of attention you spoke of attempts to destabilize Upper Volta. Can you tell us more about this?

[Answer] No, I don't want to do that. We don't want to set our people against other people. However, the subversive plans against Upper Volta are real and continuing. They are both nationally and internationally directed, at the same time. We have the evidence in our possession. However, we don't consider that it would be timely to make this evidence public at present. We wish to avoid creating a climate of xenophobia among our people.

We want to isolate the evil and its origins and to dissociate clearly those who attack us from their peoples, whom we consider fraternal associates and friends. That is why we don't want to display this evidence--to avoid pointing a finger at the nation involved. Having said that, I solemnly confirm the existence of this plotting. The evidence does not flow from a simple, logical analysis. It would be evident to everyone, except those who would like to prove that they are suffering from myopia. The evidence comes from investigations which we have made and from information which militant sympathizers have provided us with.

We have been able to observe that a just revolution is never isolated. And for us that is a great source of comfort.

[Question] How do you see your relations with France?

[Answer] We want to have a dynamic form of cooperation, a blossoming of relations which will allow both French and Upper Voltans to open themselves up to each other. This kind of cooperation will not see the light of day unless both the French and the Upper Voltans get rid of the cold calculations which hide behind state to state relationships. Unless both peoples are convinced that any form of neocolonialism, imperialism, or paternalism should be removed from this kind of relationship.

This means that our dignity as well as our sovereignty must be respected. This also means--and above all--that we have to work essentially to bring our two peoples together and not just to cultivate official and formal relations. It is only in this way that we will be able to have a responsible policy on both sides. The French Government that emerged from the elections of 10 May 1981 made attractive statements that won the sympathy of the African peoples. However, what we would like to see is that daily actions conform to these statements, to the promises made. Remember the promises made by the Socialist Party before 10 May 1981 and compare them with what in fact is being done today. Certainly, I do not underestimate the influence of international capitalism, with all that that implies. However, even so.

The behavior of the French Government has been astonishing, has been in conflict with our convictions and our hopes, when it continues to maintain relations with South Africa, when it sends its troops to Chad to support the Hisssein Habre regime. These are facts which hurt us. We say this to the French in all friendship, in all frankness, to let them understand us more fully, just as we expect from them that they will criticize us, that they will tell us what to do to be better understood by them. Cooperation between France and Upper Volta can be encouraging and an example to all, on condition that we agree that our enemies should be condemned wherever they are to be found, even if that should cause us problems due to our separate alliances.

NATIONAL GENDARMERIE TRAINS SECURITY PERSONNEL

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 6 Dec 83 p 2

[Text] A big first in the history of the security of the Airlines Administration [RVA]: last Saturday Brig Gen Molamba Pene Lowa, chief of staff of the National Gendarmerie attended ceremonies at N'Djili Airport marking the return of 25 RVA policemen from 4 months of training at the National Gendarmerie Instruction Center at Matadi-Mayo. This ceremony further enriched by the attendance of Citizen Bongo and Col Baoka, who are respectively the state secretaries for the Departments of Transportation and Communication and National Defense.

In his remarks at the ceremony, Citizen Lungele Mastaajabu, the deputy managing director of the RVA, underlined the importance of the training for airlines administration security personnel, training which included instruction in both protection of persons and property as well as the airport installations scattered around the country.

Citizen Lungele then expressed the hope that this initial experiment will be repeated. He praised the spirit of cooperation which prevailed between the National Gendarmerie and the RVA throughout the training of these airport security officers.

The second to come to the rostrum, Maj Mbiye Wamba, commander of the Matadi-Mayo training center, said that this was the first time since the center's creation in 1975 that it has trained agents for a parastatal company. This fact, he said, is a source of pride and a great honor for RVA officials. He underlined the fact that the RVA is organized for the purpose of bringing greater cohesion to the productive forces of the country.

Speaking to the graduates, Maj Mbiye called on them to put in practice all the instruction they have received during their time at the center.

9516

CSO: 3419/247

GENERAL EXPLAINS IDEAL DEMOCRACY AND POWER

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 1 Dec 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] "What distinguishes the Zairian ideal of democracy is on the one hand a rejection of models conceived and applied in other countries, and on the other hand the adoption of a system that flows out of our ancestral socio-political ethos, one which is better adapted to our moral, cultural, social and economic circumstances... For there is not just one democracy in the world: there are different kinds of democracy..."

This was the assertion made Tuesday after noon by Lt Gen Likulia Bolongo, auditor general of the FAZ [Zairian Armed Forces], speaking before the officers in Vice Admiral Lomponda's class, who were attending the first seminar held by the Makanda Kabohi Institute for the big military schools.

In his presentation, entitled "Democracy and Power in Zaire," the auditor general defined power as sovereignty, as a political model by which the people exercise power. Thus understood, according to Gen. Likulia, these concepts correspond to the definition of the elements that distinguish the Zairian political system. The MPR [Popular Movement of the Revolution], in fact, has designed a democratic system adapted to the frame of reference of national values. This system rejects the absolutist doctrine espoused by the multi- [lines missing]

In Zaire, the conference participant explained, "the democratic political system rests on the idea of the collective interest, the spirit of dialogue in the discussion phase and lawful unity once a decision is made."

Democracy as conceived by the MPR, according to Gen. Likulia, has two facets: in the first instance it is the source of power, and in the second it is a method whereby the people can participate in the exercise of power.

As a source of power, democracy is enshrined in Article 9 of the Constitution, which stipulates that power emanates from the people, and is only exercised by those who govern in their capacity as trustees. In addition, two procedures govern the participation of the people in the management of public affairs, namely direct election of rulers and the referendum.

The political model designed by the MPR, said the FAZ auditor general in conclusion, "does no violence to our authentic culture, does not violate our national spirit," but "contributes harmoniously to the joyous task of building our future."

BRIEFS

COFFEE EXPORTS--In 1983-84 Zaire will provide one-fourth of all African coffee exports, or 2.12 percent [as printed] (68,000 tons were exported in 1982-83. The International Coffee Organization (OIC), meeting recently in London, granted this quota to Zaire, which represents approximately 25 percent of the exports permitted to sub-Saharan African countries. [Excerpt] [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 1 Dec 83 p 9] 9516

MOANDA PETROLEUM REFINERY--Technical improvements in the treatment of Zairian crude oil at the Moanda refinery were the main subject of the audience granted by First State Commissar Kengo wa Dondo to Mr Campoli, supervisor of the AGIP (National Italian Oil Company) Refinery, a state-owned company. That was yesterday morning at Council House. Mr Campoli was accompanied by the president of SOZIR [Zairian-Italian Refining Company], Citizen Lessedjina. Campoli was brought in to see the First State Commissar by the State Secretary for Mines and Energy, Citizen Pendje Demotedto Yako. The two discussed Moanda's refinery problems in light of new drilling now under consideration. Responding to a question about the refining of Zairian crude, the AGIP agent said it is a medium-term problem which must be met early on by new investment in the refinery. The problem is under study and initial talks are slated with the World Bank to obtain a loan on the order of about U.S. \$40 million to send a branch of the pipeline to the GULF deposits and build an asphalt plant for SOZIR. Though he refused to comment at all on rumors of discovery of a deposit of high-quality [oil], Mr Campoli let it be understood that chances are good for such a discovery, which could not be confirmed by the other oil companies... He reaffirmed AGIP's role, which consists of distribution and refining of oil products. He added that this does not exclude the possibility of more diversified cooperative efforts with the Executive Council. [Text] [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 1 Dec 83 pp 1 7] 9516

GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION CHANGES--The President-Founder of the MPR [Popular Movement of the Revolution], President of the Republic, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, signed on Tuesday two decrees concerning the staffing patterns for the offices of regional presidents and governors as well as establishing the rate of remuneration for members of the regional assembly, city council, urban and rural zonal councils and community councils. By

the terms of the first presidential decree, the governor of the city of Kinshasa is entitled to a staff of five assistants, including a senior aide, and a private secretary; his counterparts in Shaba and Haut-Zaire are entitled to a maximum of four assistants, including one senior aide, and a private secretary; his counterparts in Shaba and Haut-Zaire are entitled to a maximum of four assistants, including one senior aide, in addition to one private secretary each. The regional governors of the two Kasais, of Bas-Zaire and of Equateur and Kivu must each make do with the services of three assistants, including one senior aide, plus a private secretary. The second decree sets the rate of remuneration for members of the regional assembly at 400 zaires, while members of the city council get 200 zaires, members of the urban and rural zonal councils get 150 zaires and members of the community councils get 100 zaires. [Text] [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 8 Dec 83 pp 1, 7] 9516

CSO: 3419/247

ZCTU TAKES STAND ON SOCIAL SECURITY, NATIONAL LEADERS' FREE SERVICES

General Council Meeting Statement

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 6 Feb 84 p 5

[Excerpt]

THE Government has been urged to take a bold policy decision to remove free services provided to national leaders and parastatal executives because of the worsening economy.

This appeal was made by the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) general council meeting which warned that the present trend in which the rich were being subsidised by the poor through provision of free housing, electricity, water, transport, fuel and security guards was bound to divide the country into two.

A statement released in Kitwe at the end of a one-day general council meeting which critically analysed this year's budget observed that the budget was more consumption-oriented than job-creation oriented.

"It encourages the already rich and the clever to become richer and the poor masses poorer. It lacks the rudiments of national self-reliance, propensity to serve and the much talked about self-sacrifice."

The Government would save a substantial amount of money if it stopped providing free services to the rich who constituted only ten per cent of the nation's salary earners.

Much of the money provided through the banking system was used to finance the coun-

try's delegations to foreign countries and importing luxurious cars for the rich or highly paid.

The ZCTU attacked the present Government policy on taxation, saying it was likely to bring about a lot of problems to those in the low income groups and the unemployed.

The devaluation of the Kwacha and its subsequent floatation, decontrol of prices and the removal of subsidies had directly increased the prices of food stuffs and other essential commodities.

The low income workers and the unemployed had experienced very high rate of inflation which had become almost impossible to contain.

The declining share of wages in the national product implied a rising profit margin thereby shifting resources to owners of firms at the expense of wage and salary earners.

The situation in Zambia was that few rich individuals were growing richer while the Government was growing poorer.

The ZCTU had evidence that few individuals had amassed a lot of wealth at the expense of the cheated masses.

Chiluba Statement

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 6 Feb 84 p 5

[Excerpt]

ZAMBIA Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) chairman Mr Frederick Chiluba has reiterated his call to the Party and its Government to introduce a comprehensive social security scheme that will create more employment opportunities.

Mr Chiluba who was commenting on a Kasama hotel waitress awarded K900, a bed and mattress for 20 years' unbroken service, said many people faced difficulties after retiring because they were not given enough terminal benefits to help them settle down comfortably.

The comprehensive social security scheme would help people looking for alternative employment after being fired and ease some of the difficulties they faced.

The proposed scheme would be a source of investible funds because the money given to workers would not be stored in houses, but invested in financial institutions like the Zambia State Insurance Corporation or Zambia National Build-

ing Society.

Mr Chiluba first appealed to the Government to introduce a new social security scheme in 1977 at a Labour Day rally in Lusaka.

The new scheme will really stabilise the situation for people in need. If you are given K5,000 on retirement you will be lucky to get anything out of it."

We are not only fighting for sources of investible funds, but also the creation of more investments which will create more jobs in the country."

Resolutions of Kafue Seminar

Lusaka DAILY MAIL in English 4 Feb 84 p 5

[Text]

THE ZAMBIA Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) has urged the Government to merge the Price Control Department with the Prices and Incomes Commission to enable the latter fight price cheats effectively.

This is one of the resolutions passed at the recently-ended ZCTU high level seminar held in Kafue which was attended by national leaders and general secretaries of the 18 affiliated trade unions.

In the resolutions released by ZCTU general-secretary Mr Newstead Zimba in Kitwe

yesterday, the seminar participants said it was unrealistic for the government to expect the prices and incomes commission to fight price sharks effectively without the necessary legal backing.

"The prices and incomes commission is legally impotent

in its present form and unless it is merged with the price control department and given more legal powers, unscrupulous businessmen would continue to take advantage of the decontrol of prices," the labour leaders said.

The participants noted that the Party and its government's decision to decontrol prices and at the same time restrict

wage and salary increases had created such adverse effects for the workers that pragmatic measures were required to rescue them.

It was resolved that as a matter of urgency, the Party and its government should establish a poverty datum line to assist the lowly paid workers who have been badly hit by the decontrol of prices.

The labour leaders attacked the government for failing to reduce the nation's high import bill of finished consumer goods despite severe economic problems facing the nation.

"The Party and its government should restrict the importation of such goods and instead place more emphasis on the production and utilisation of local raw materials and the localisation of technology.

"Priority in the allocation of foreign exchange must be biased in favour of productive investment like industries concerned with food production and export oriented products," the labour leaders said.

It was agreed that if possible the Party and its government must direct all companies and institutions under its control to invest directly into productive ventures to help build a solid economic base for Zambia.

The trade union leaders pledged that on their part,

they would continue to encourage workers to work hard and increase productivity but it was important on the other hand for the government to provide the necessary inputs to achieve this goal.

The seminar noted that problems were the order of the day in some industries because the imported technology utilised did not have a full back-up service suitable to local conditions.

On the much talked about workers' participation in industries, the participants noted with awe that representation of workers and their union leaders on the boards of directors was still very minimum despite the Party and its government's policy on the issue.

"We are worried that no definite form of workers' participation has been adopted and it is because of this that we call upon the Party and its government to urgently convene a tripartite conference to adopt a firm policy," they said.

The trade union leaders said they hoped the government would soon allow unions to bargain freely with employers despite the economic situation as free collective bargaining was one labour law enshrined in the International Labour Organisation (ILO) convention.

SOKO WELCOMES PRC EXPERTS WORKING ON NEW PARTY HEADQUARTERS

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 4 Feb 84 p 5

[Excerpts]

CHAIRMAN of the Economic and Finance Subcommittee of the Central Committee ~~Mr~~Axon Soko yesterday expressed optimism that the construction of the new Party headquarters in Lusaka would be completed in record time.

Speaking when he welcomed an advance party of Chinese engineering and construction experts who have arrived to carry out a two-month preliminary studies of the new complex, Mr Soko said the work pace of Chinese experts was renowned in Zambia and the Party was confident the team would apply itself diligently as in other "miracles" like Tazara.

Zambia had chosen China to carry out survey and civil engineering services for the project because of China's all weather friendship and reliability.

The design for the building had already been completed and construction would start this year.

"We value the assistance so far given to us by China and in this light we note that those who were opposed to the construction of Tazara could not believe it when they heard the project had been accomplished."

The project had aroused interest because Zambians had been asked to contribute towards their own Party headquarters and interest would rise when they heard that experts had arrived in the country.

So far K3 million had been received from donations and the Party and the whole nation were enthusiastic and in a hurry.

Leader of the team Mr Zhong Guo-Ding said the project had deep significance for Zambia and China was proud to be associated once again with the country's development.

The team was eager to start work and since they arrived four days ago they had got down to work without delay and it was hoped that preliminary issues with the Ministry of Works and Supply would be speeded up to avoid any further delay, Mr Guo-Ding said.

CSO: 3400/645

NCDP RELEASES RECOMMENDATIONS IN REPORT ON ECONOMY UNDER PRESSURE

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 3 Feb 84 p 4

[Text] THE enormous debt problem facing Zambia has partly been caused by the abandonment of some large capital intensive projects initiated after obtaining huge loans from foreign sources.

The Government should therefore, fully scrutinise all future loans and offers of international assistance and press for more appropriate terms in relation to basic priorities

and Government's debt service capabilities.

These notes form part of several recommendations in a report on the national seminar on "basic needs in economy under pressure" just released in Lusaka by the National Commission for Development Planning (NCDP).

It says foreign exchange earnings should have been doubled in recent years if some reforms of international policies and institutions dealing with rising debt, foreign exchange shortage and declining terms of trade had been implemented.

The report suggests one of the ways Zambia could take action for the restructuring of the international economic order was by active participation in for concerned with international economic and financial reform.

"Zambia's participants in such meetings are inadequately briefed. More specific briefings and closer links with domestic needs and priorities would help.

"International reform is a long run necessity of Zambia as it is for other Third World countries," the report says.

It has welcomed joint actions being fostered by Third World committee through Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and the Prefe-

rential Trade Area (PTA) in their development efforts.

A number of new initiatives such as to expand bilaterally balanced barter trade agreement among SADCC partners are being employed. Other such possibilities are open and can offer real advantages to countries equally under economic pressure.

"Some past assistance has involved large loans and encouraged large capital intensive projects.

"When such projects are not producing as planned, which is often the case (and often exacerbated by foreign exchange constraints, the country is saddled with debt and a net loser on the whole enterprise," it says.

It calls for structural adjustments towards the goal of basic needs. Agreements with the IMF and the World Bank need to give more weight towards meeting the requirements of the whole population.

This would not only improve the welfare of Zambians but it would help raise productivity of the small farmer and producer as well.

The present market interest rate for farmers is too high at 14 per cent and the Party and its Government should study the structure of financial resource movement into agriculture so that it is in line with the priority given to this sector.

CSUZ WARNS OF POSSIBLE INDUSTRIAL UNREST IN NATION

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 3 Feb 84 p 7

[Text]

THE Civil Servants Union of Zambia (CSUZ) has warned of industrial unrest in the country if the Government does not pay out the ten per cent salary increase in time.

CSUZ organising secretary Mr Japhet Moonde issued the warning in Lusaka yesterday when he addressed civil servants.

Mr Moonde said the issue was a "very sensitive one" which if not properly handled could result in the Government machinery grinding to a halt and plunging the entire country into chaos.

He expressed disappointment with the Government's "pedestrian attitude and approach" in dealing with the issue.

"The Government should pay out the ten per cent before the situation gets out of hand."

Mr Moonde scoffed at decision makers for waiting too long before offering a solution and only did so when the situation got out of hand. After that they turned to accuse workers of being unpatriotic.

He reminded the Government that civil servants were "essential spokes in a big wheel" without which the Government would not function.

"Those responsible for seeing that the ten per cent increase is paid out should therefore not wait for confrontation with the work-

ers."

"But the problem with the people who are supposed to make decisions is that they wait for too long and when the situation gets out of hand they call the workers all sorts of names and accuse them of being unpatriotic."

Mr Moonde said unions and their members were interested in the economic development of the country and had recognised that this development could only come about through hard work.

But for this development to come about, it was vital that the workers had "full stomachs" to be able to work hard.

He regretted that quite often discipline was over-emphasised at the expense of the all important factor of labour.

"Let us not only talk of discipline and hard work forgetting the essential factor of labour."

Mr Moonde reiterated that workers needed to eat and dress themselves in order to do a good job.

SENIOR OFFICER SAYS ARMY INDISCIPLINE A SORE

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 2 Feb 84 p 1

[Text] **INDISCIPLINE in the army is a sore that needs strong "antiseptics" to heal it, a senior Zambia Army officer said in Kabwe yesterday.**

Commandant of military training school officer-in-charge of Kohima Barracks, Brigadier-General Ben Bulaya warned that unless something was done quickly reports of army officers being court martialled for misappropriating funds could disintegrate the army.

"This is why the school in particular and the army in general are making tireless efforts to contribute towards the realisation of an efficient and well disciplined army."

General Bulaya, who was speaking before Defence Ministry permanent secretary Mr Phineas Musukwa presented awards to 16 officer-cadets who completed a three-month military training during a pass-out parade, warned that it would be a tragedy if maintaining discipline in the army failed.

He told the officers who included two girls that indiscipline was a sore "that needs strong antiseptics to heal it. In my view this training is a surgeon that can help you young officers from deteriorating and disintegrating".

It was sad to hear of army officers being court martialled for misappropriating funds "as is the case now. You must know that good leaders make good men and good men make good armed forces which would ensure a more secure Zambia".

Mr Musukwa told the officers that the defence force was an institution that thrived first and foremost on discipline.

"An army without discipline is as good as no army at all," he said.

Calling for the highest standard of discipline in the defence force, Mr Musukwa urged all officers to be loyal, honest and refrain from shoddy activities which he

said only brought shame and put the army into disrepute.

Mr Musukwa reminded the graduating officers that their subordinates would be looking to them for guidance. "You must lead them by good example. Remember that the behaviour of a military man or woman must be beyond reproach whether on duty or off duty."

It was important that the military tradition characterised by self-discipline, hard work and dedication to duty should be maintained at all times.

"In this way, you will be mirrors of society," he said.

Since court martials started last November, two majors, two captains and a lieutenant have been dishonourably dismissed from the army after being convicted of theft by public servant.

First to be court martialled and subsequently dismissed was Major Ben Lungu who was convicted of stealing K1,800. Major Lungu was a staff officer in the education directorate of the army.

He also lost his rank of major. The prosecution evidence was that Lungu's current account with Standard Bank in Kabwe was credited with K2,156.21 when he was only entitled to K356.21.

The next to be dismissed were Major Fewdays Kabwe Kaoma of the inspectorate and Captain Davy Lweendo. They were dismissed without benefits and lost their ranks. Kaoma was accused of having stolen K1,400.21 while Lweendo was found guilty of having stolen K3,184.20.

In addition to the dismissal Lweendo was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment. Others who were booted out of the army included Captain Joseph Knox Simwanza and Lieutenant Davison Kaputula.

Simwanza was dismissed and jailed for 19 months for stealing a total of K4,800 from the Government while Kaputula was sacked for stealing K6,000.

ESTIMATED DEFICIT EXPECTED TO TOP TWO BILLION KWACHA AT END 1984

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 2 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] ZAMBIA's estimated accumulated deficit at the end of this year is expected to hit the K2.1 billion mark — K140.9 million more than last year.

The picture looks gloomy following reduced capital grants from international aid agencies from K64.8 million last year down to K41.8 million.

This startling revelation is contained in the 432-page Government estimates of revenue and expenditure report for the year January 1 to December 1984 just released in Lusaka.

The deficit is against the K1.3 billion national budget for this year announced by the Minister of Finance Mr Luke Mwananshiku last Friday. It is less by K23.4 million than that of last year's budget.

The report states that the estimated deficit for this year alone was expected to be K139.9 million compared to K8.6 million last year, but the situation becomes alarming in the wake of accumulated figures.

It reflects details of recurrent and capital estimates for ministries, departments and other Government agencies including missions abroad.

The balance sheet in the report, signed by permanent secretary in the Ministry of Finance Mr Fred Kazunga shows that Government

assets have grown from K398 billion in December 1981 to K500.4 billion in 1982. No comparative figures are given for the recent period.

On capital grants, the report indicates that apart from the K41.8 million expected to come from international aid agencies this year, financial resources would be required to make a total of K1.2 billion to include miscellaneous capital receipts.

international aid agencies which contributed K64.8 million capital grants last year, only five are listed to continue contributing towards the exercise this year.

Those listed to continue giving capital grants this year are the Swedish International Aid Agency (SIDA) pledging K10.8 million grant against K20.4 million last year. The Netherlands K365,000 against K592,000 and Norway K5.7 million against K17 million.

Others are Finland K11.2 million this year against K8.6 million, West Germany K1.2 million against K4.3 million, European Economic Community (EEC) K10.2 million against K2.1 million and Canada K2.1 million against K803,625 last year.

The agencies which made available various sums of capital grants last year and are not on this year's list to contribute anything are UK,

Denmark, EDF, France, USA, Japan, Italy, UNDP/FAO, UNICEF, Africare and CYMT.

International financing would amount to K70 million this year compared to K84 million last year. External financing has gone up from K127.9 million this year compared to K164.6 million last year.

MP'S RAP INDISCIPLINE, WASTAGE, NEPOTISM

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 1 Feb 84 p 1

[Excerpt] **MEMBERS** of Parliament yesterday spoke out strongly against indiscipline, wastage and nepotism in the nation which they said had aggravated Zambia's economic problems.

Unless urgent measures were taken to tackle the malpractices, efforts aimed at resuscitating the economy would come to nought.

The MPs expressed these sentiments during their contributions to the motion of supply on this year's Budget presented by the Minister of Finance Mr Luke Mwananshiku last Friday.

Contributing to the motion, Chililabombwe MP **Mr Palakasa Chiwaya** said the country was in an economic crisis and warned leaders against taking the people for granted.

While the majority of the people were experiencing hardships "the elite are paying themselves abnormally high salaries while the rest are starving".

Mr Chiwaya said corruption in Zambia had become malignant and corrupt people should not be allowed to get away with their crimes. It was important for the leadership to take action.

The MP hit out at the Government for decontrolling prices and said there was great need for a poverty datum line (PDL).

The labour movement should step in and help in the

fighting to control prices. "The ZCTU should not be seen to be a talking shop. It should come to the aid of workers," he said.

Kabwe MP **Mr Wilfrid Wonani** said that the Budget presented by Mr Mwananshiku was a "cosmetic" one which had glossed over the serious problems in the country.

He said while the permeating theme had been one of the economic recovery little had been said in the Budget about discipline in the country.

It was essential that those concerned should find ways and means of instilling a sense of discipline in the nation. In some cases leaders were responsible for the financial indiscipline in various sectors of the economy.

There were too many "untouchables" in the country and this system should stop including that of fullbacks.

Referring to the Budget, he said it was one "which gives you with the left hand and takes away with the right".

The so-called incentives in the Budget were only for a few people and these were mainly non-Zambians.

And Chifubu MP **Mr Godfrey Simasiku** said the auditor-general's report had raised a number of serious issues related to financial indiscipline.

There was need to overhaul the tax department in view of the huge amount of uncollected tax arrears which had been reported in the auditor-general's report.

Mr Simasiku urged the Government to review the tax department's performance and the possibility of establishing a public relations wing which would educate the public on the need for them to pay their obligations to the State.

Lumezi MP **Mr Njose Mwale** said the public would not welcome the mini-budget which was being anticipated following the main Budget as this tended to increase hardships.

On agriculture, Mr Mwale said farmers were experiencing hardships repaying seasonal loans when they had not made a profit from their hectarage.

Mufulira MP **Mr Godfrey Mumba** urged the Government to stop spending money carelessly and reduce its borrowings.

In his maiden contribution Mr Mumba said: "Almost every day someone somewhere is borrowing money on behalf of the Zambian Government".

On measures to boost exports, Mr Mumba said conditions must be created if Zambia was to make any headway in this direction.

He suggested that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry should cut down on bureaucracy in the granting of import licences. The Export Promotion Council should be revamped and given a more aggressive marketing policy and strong research personnel.

DUNLOP INCREASES RETAIL PRICES FOR VEHICLE TIRES, TUBES

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 1 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] DUNLOP Zambia has increased retail prices for motor vehicle tyres and tubes in some cases by more than 20 per cent with immediate effect.

A company spokesman in Lusaka yesterday attributed the move to high costs of production including labour, overheads and the devaluation of the Kwacha over the past year.

He conceded that the new pricing structure had come at a time when Zambia was still facing a critical shortage of tyres and tubes.

The spokesman said major customers such as the Government, the mines and some parastatal companies would still enjoy a two per cent discount over new recommended retail prices.

Such customers giving Dunlop Zambia substantial business were grouped under what he described as "retreader price" structure and pledged to continue supplying them under difficult conditions.

According to the new price list the increases depend on the mode and size of the vehicle and include ten per cent sales tax in every respect.

The minimum recommended retail price for car tyres SP49 T/L radial has been increased from K42.52 to

K51.18. The maximum price in this category has gone up from K55.85 to K67.23.

The price of car tryres SP49 tubed radial has risen from K72.47 to K87.26. with big customers still accorded a two per cent discount.

The minimum price for truck tyres is up from K46.02 to K55.42 while the maximum has been increased from K106.65 to K124.28.

Truck tyres within the range of K216.30 and K472.51 have been hiked to K260.11 and K566.53 respectively. The maximum price for agriculture tyres has gone up from K78.49 to K94.60.

The minimum price for a rear tractor tyre has been increased from K712.00 to K880.81.

The new price for car and agricultural tubes within the range of K5.57 and K14 has risen from K4.64 and K11.63 respectively.

Light truck and truck tubes which used to cost K12.59 will now come to K15.15 while the maximum price is from K34.11 to K41.08. The minimum price of flaps has gone up from K12.06 to K14.69 and maximum from K4.37 to K18.62.

In Livingstone, some fuel stations have increased the cost of diesel and petrol beyond what was announced in the Budget last Friday.

Most of the filling stations have raised premium petrol by about 10n to K1.14 per litre and regular petrol by 7n to K1.05 per litre while diesel is selling at 79n.

In his Budget speech Minister of Finance Mr Luke Mwananshiku pegged the increase of super petrol by 6n, regular by 4n and diesel by 3n.

JUST PUBLISHED 1983 ECONOMIC REPORT GIVES ANNUAL STATISTICS

Petroleum Imports' Decline

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 1 Feb 84 p 2

[Text]

ZAMBIA's oil import bill last year stood at about K225 million compared with the 1982 figure of K198 million, according to the 1983 **Economic Report** just published in Lusaka.

But noting that the import bill dropped from 213 million United States dollars in 1982 to 172 million dollars last year, the report says the apparent increase of the bill in Kwacha is attributed to devaluation and depreciation of the Kwacha in terms of the United States dollar.

"The total volume of petroleum imports declined further by 139,925 tonnes from 748,150 metric tonnes in 1982 to 608,225 tonnes in 1983. The reduction of the oil prices was reflected in the reduction of the petroleum import bill which has declined from 213 million US dollars to 172 million.

"This is a significant change from the previous years when the import bill for petroleum products had been rising continually despite a 1.7 per cent decline a year of the total volume of petroleum imports."

The bulk of the energy consumed during the year went to the copper industry but a new energy department under the Ministry of Power, Transport and Communications was created with a view to saving energy and controlling consumption.

The report says before any lasting decision on energy policies could be made for Zambia, an energy plan covering the whole country would

have to be prepared by the department of energy.

British Petroleum, Zambia's share of the domestic markets was 50 per cent during 1982/83 and the company marketed a total of 194,312 cubic metres of products while profits for the six months ended September 30, 1983 stood at K90,027 million before tax.

"Zesco earned K12 million in foreign exchange from exports of electricity to Zimbabwe and the company is expecting a pretax profit of K47 million in the financial year ending March this year.

On operations of the Zambia National Energy Limited (ZNEL), the report says following adverse movements in the exchange rate the company incurred a loss of about K10 million in the six months ended September 30, last year.

Report Notes ZIMCO Profits

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 31 Jan 84 p 2

[Text] THE ZIMCO group of companies has budgeted to earn a pretax profit of K236.2 million for the financial year ending March 1984, says the 1983 economic report released in Lusaka yesterday.

The group has already earned a pretax profit of K97.1 million for the half year ended September 1983 and the publication notes that the most significant feature of the first six months was a return to profitability by ZCCM after two consecutive years of incurring losses.

"During the six months to September 30, 1983 ZCCM recorded a pre-tax profit of K34.8 million. Of this amount taxes payable to the Government amounted to K24.8 million — resulting in a post tax profit of K10.

"This turnaround is primarily because of the marginal improvement in price of copper, devaluation of the Kwacha, and more importantly the cost reduction measures enforced during the previous year."

Devaluation of the Kwacha and the decision to allow parastatal companies to fix their own economic prices in 1983 have significantly bettered the trading results of Zimco subsidiaries, the report says.

But for the year ended

March 30, 1982 the conglomerate incurred a loss of K121 million which was attributed to the mining sector whose loss stood at K170.

Former chairman Prime Minister Mundia regretted in his report that funds "from international financial institutions continued to be received in small doses and therefore not enough to meet the demand for output from developing countries".

To improve trading results he pledged that the corporation would streamline operations and intersectoral relationships within the group, consolidate efforts to diversify activities, increase efficiency and capacity utilisation and create a climate to motivate employees.

The report shows that in the six months ended September 30, 1983 the group recorded a turnover of K1,694 million — reflecting an increase of K322 million over K1,572 million achieved in the previous corresponding period.

The industrial sector during the period made a pretax profit of K9 million but despite the authority to fix economic prices granted during the year, foreign exchange obstacles led to the K9 million

profit which was K3 million below projections.

Improvements of performance were recorded by several companies including Chilanga Cement, Zambia Steel and Building Supplies, (ZSBS) and Zambia Sugar Company.

"Zambia Breweries returned a loss of K744,000 while Nitrogen Chemicals continued to incur heavy losses and at September 30, 1983 reported a loss of K11.3 million. Other loss-making companies came to nine including National Milling whose losses were mainly attributed to continued price control on wheat products."

CSO: 3400/635

DETAILS OF SIDA'S DEVELOPMENT PROJECT AGREEMENT NOTED

Lusaka DAILY MAIL in English 31 Jan 84 p 3

[Text] Meanwhile, the Swedish government has set aside K70 million to be spent on various development projects in Zambia.

"The agreement already signed between SIDA officials and the Zambian Government will cover a period of two years," Mr. Backman said.

"Thirty-five million Kwacha will be spent this year and the other half will be spent in 1985," he said.

He also said Sweden would import coffee, hard timber and hard wood floors from Zambia if such commodities were available for export.

"Whenever Zambia is able to produce surplus coffee and hard wood floors of international standard for export, Sweden would be able to import such products to enable the country earn more foreign exchange," he said.

He said in general, Sweden will provide personnel and equipment for the projects to be carried out in the member countries of SADCC and for the

projects, which will need technical assistance in Zambia.

Mr Backman said the development co-operation

between Sweden and Zambia is governed by a general agreement on terms and procedures for development co-operation and a specific agreement on development co-operation between Sweden and Zambia.

According to the agreement, Sweden shall during the said two years 1984 to 1985 make available to Zambia resources which include personnel, financial and equipment needed for the projects.

Mr Backman said 52 per cent of the K70 million agreement will be spent on agriculture and 15 per cent on education sector support.

He said the total allocation under the agreement on development co-operation will be made available to Zambia as a grant.

BRIEFS

YUGOSLAV COOPERATION PRAISED--MAZABUKA district governor, Mr Shadreck Mwimbwa has praised the Yugoslav government for cooperating with Zambia in the agricultural sector. Speaking in Mazabuka over the weekend when he toured the Maize Research Institute under the management of Yugoslav experts Mr Mwimbwa said that agriculture was one of the means through which the country would revive her ailing economy. The governor said that agriculture and technical know-how being developed by experts at the institute would greatly increase the maize production potential in the country. [Excerpt] [Lusaka DAILY MAIL in English 6 Feb 84 p 5]

ADB WATER DEVELOPMENT FUNDS--ZAMBIA's nagging water problems will soon be over following a financial outlay of more than K30 million to be pumped into water utility by the African Development Bank (ADV). The bank's vice-president Mr Samuel Ogunleye announced at a Press conference in Lusaka on Wednesday night that the ADB would supply the funds to Zambia for water development in view of the suffering experienced in the country especially in Lusaka, Ndola and a large part of Southern Province. On water supply, the ADV official said the funds to be released had been earmarked for Livingstone, Monze, Kalomo, Choma, Kafue, Lusaka and Ndola water projects. This would go a long way in alleviating suffering and accelerate development which had so far been hampered by this "curable" constringing. [Excerpts] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 3 Feb 84 p 7]

ZAMBIA-ZAIRE JOINT BORDER COMMISSION--THE Zambia-Zaire Joint Permanent Commission is actively pursuing a resolution passed at its meeting in Kitwe last year to properly demarcate a clear border between the two countries, chairman Mr Alex Shapi said in Ndola yesterday. Zambia and Zaire were following up the issue with the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources which would send surveyors to study the border and make proper demarcations. In the past, villagers living along the border have strayed into either country because of the absence of a proper border line. "The two governments cannot resolve the problem until the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources has given us surveyors to move in the area and demarcate it." [Excerpt] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 6 Feb 84 p 5]

SOUTHERN PROVINCE CROP PROSPECTS--FARMERS in the Southern Province have been assured of a fair crop this year following an improvement in rains since the beginning of this month. The assurance came from the Livingstone meteorological

department yesterday where a spokesman attributed the improvement in rainfall to the killer cyclone Domoina which was causing havoc in Mozambique, Swaziland and South Africa. Livingstone district alone has received a total of 302 mm of seasonal rains to-date which was 200mm short of the normal rainfall. "There is still hope because since the start of this month rainfall has been good. In Livingstone alone we have recorded 74.2 mm for this month which is reasonable," he said. [Excerpt] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 6 Feb 84 p 5]

MUFULIRA FLOUR SHORTAGE--MUFULIRA bakers are unable to make bread because of insufficient allocations of flour by the National Milling Company (NMC), said chief executive of the Zambia Associations Mr Bright Msoni in Lusaka. He was reacting to a call by Mufulira district governor Mr Boyd Kaseunga who during a tour ordered businessmen in the town to bake bread by Wednesday or face punitive action. [Excerpt] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 3 Feb 84 p 5]

MAIZE RESERVES LOW--The present maize reserves in the country will only last up to next month, Minister of State for Agriculture and Water Development, Mr Daniel Munkombwe, said yesterday. Since most famine-stricken areas in the country could not wait for March, Mr Munkombwe appealed to the World Food Programme [WFP] to take immediate action to help solve the food problem. The minister was speaking when deputy executive director-general of WFP, Mr S. Ahmed called on him. He told Mr Ahmed that Zambia, like other countries in the southern region, had experienced three years of drought particularly in the maize-growing areas. Mr Munkombwe stressed the importance of launching a nationwide intensive irrigation programme in the absence of rains. He also referred to Zambia's application to the world body by the then Finance Minister, Mr Nalumbo Mund'a, now Prime Minister. The application was for lower status of being a poor nation under the developing countries so as to qualify for full assistance normally accorded to lower status developing countries. In reply, Mr Ahmed said he acknowledged receipt of the application and promised to visit the countryside during his stay here. He said he wanted to acquaint himself with the problem being experienced in the country. [Text] [Lusaka DAILY MAIL in English 2 Feb 84 p 3]

CSO: 3400/635

MINISTER SAYS FIRST PHASE OF TERRORISM OVER IN MATABELELAND

Bulawayo THE SUNDAY NEWS in English 29 Jan 84 p 1

[Excerpt] Cde Nathan Shamuyarira, in London as guest of the British government, said on Friday that the first phase of terrorism which began in 1982 in Matabeleland was over writes Arnold Raphael from London. It had been investigated by ZIPRA dissidents backed by ZAPU leaders anxious to strengthen their bargaining position for Government posts.

That phase was over. "ZIPRA elements are no longer in the field as bandits. Nor is Nkomo or the other ZAPU leaders involved in the second phase of terrorism. They have seen the fatuity of that course of action, whatever their frustrations," the Minister said.

He was addressing a joint meeting of the British-Zimbabwe Society and Royal Commonwealth Society.

"There is now overwhelming evidence of South African influence in the training, strategy and execution of the second phase of terrorism in Zimbabwe, and South Africa was mounting a propaganda war against the Zimbabwe Government, notably through Radio Free Truth.

"ZIPRA dissidents, often deserters from the national army, or those who had not been found work, had been recruited by South Africa. Their instructors included intelligence and other officers of the former Rhodesian army, some of whom had served in Zimbabwe until 1981.

Targets

"The Super-ZAPUS, as the Minister described them, "were being trained to destabilise the country by promoting unrest, by sabotage and murder.

"One of their main targets is the white farmers because they know that will give us a bad name abroad. We are doing our best to protect the white farmers, but our troops and police cannot be on the ground the whole time."

The Minister added that evidence of South Africa's psychological warfare tactics would be produced in court this week following the arrest of a European farmer who had been making tape recordings at his home and sending them to Radio Free Truth.

Cde Shamuyarira said that it was idle to pretend that everything had gone well in Zimbabwe since Independence. "Our record is not all that good. Some of the criticism levelled against us is justified. We had made mistakes and any analysis would show some rights and wrongs. There are no angels in this world."

The Minister added amid laughter that it had been suggested to the Government that Zimbabwe's bad image overseas would be transformed overnight if they hired Saatchi and Saatchi, the leading advertising agency which handles the Conservative Party account. "I am afraid that we neither have the money nor the manpower for that. In any case we are not a package which has to be sold."

Facts

Every effort was, however, being made to counteract overseas media portrayal of Zimbabwe as a country on the brink of civil war, and inter-party strife and groaning under the heel of a communist dictator, with the whites fleeing as fast as they could.

The facts were that the bulk of ZAPU had accepted a ZANU government, that it was headed by a sincere democrat, that the number of whites leaving the country was "in global figures" no greater than in the past, and that given external factors, shortage of foreign exchange and the prospect of a third year of drought, the economy had helped remarkably well.

Turning to the ZANU(PF) congress in May, the Minister said that one of the main items on the agenda would be moves towards a one-party state, but he could not say just how far it would be taken at the conference.

There was no question of imposing a one-party system. "We want a broad consensus. We will make every effort to carry ZAPU with us". The rank and file had accepted the new order, as had the majority of the Europeans.

The Prime Minister's policies of reconciliation "have created the political and social conditions which encourage them to stay, and the Prime Minister's policies have also created conditions among blacks which make whites acceptable, even Ian Smith and his followers.

"But nothing of this gets through in the British Press. Some correspondents take it upon themselves to paint as dark a picture as they can."

CSO: 3400/634

PRIME MINISTER SAYS MATABELELAND SECURITY SITUATION NOT WORSENING

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 26 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] The security situation in Matabeleland continued to be a source of concern to the Government, but, at least, it was not worsening, the Prime Minister told the House of Assembly yesterday.

"If anything, it is now under greater control than in the past," Cde Mugabe said during the Prime Minister's Question Time.

He repeated his assertion that dissidents were operating in Matabeleland with the aim of establishing a PF-ZAPU government, whether inspired by Dr Joshua Nkomo's party or by South Africa.

Asked by Mr James Thrush (Independent--Highlands) to comment briefly on the security situation in Matabeleland, Cde Mugabe said murders, harassment and other acts of lawlessness were continuing, but the Government was taking steps to ensure security was strengthened and that law and order held.

"The situation in Matabeleland continues to give rise for concern," he said. "Its not worsening."

However, he went on: "There are dissidents operating in given areas of Matabeleland in the name of PF-ZAPU and the Father of Zimbabwe (Dr Nkomo)."

Whether they were nurtured by PF-ZAPU, as some were, or by South Africa, as others were, their aim was to sustain PF-ZAPU and lead it into power under its leadership," he said.

The Prime Minister said there had been contacts between South Africa and Zimbabwe on trade and security matters.

He was asked by Mr Tony Berkhout (RF Central) whether in view of the talks between South Africa and the Mozambican governments. Zimbabwe would consider similar meetings with Pretoria "to bring peace, sanity and stability to the region".

Cde Mugabe said when security incidents occurred on the South African-Zimbabwean border, discussions were required and Zimbabwe permitted its officers to confer with the South Africans "on either side of the border in order to secure security, peace and calm on our border".

He said there were some whites in Zimbabwe bent on sabotaging the Government or assisting South Africa in its destabilisation activities against the country.

Some black Zimbabweans were involved in sabotage activities, the Prime Minister said.

Cde Mugabe was answering ZANU(PF) Member for Mashonaland East, Cde Joseph Jekanyika, who had asked if the Prime Minister was aware that some of the whites who remained in Zimbabwe after Independence did so "to service the machinery of sabotage" and were working hand-in-hand with South Africa and its allies.

'Super Ruth'

In reply, Cde Mugabe said he did not want the impression created that all whites who remained in Zimbabwe had had some to do with sabotage.

"But some whites have been associated with South Africa and we cannot deny that some whites have been associated with sabotage and destabilisation activities," he said.

And amid laughter, the Prime Minister added: "But they are not the only ones. There are some blacks. There are super ZAPU, Super Chinamano, Super Ruth."--Ziana.

CSO: 3400/634

REIGN OF TERROR, ATROCITIES REPORTEDLY CONDUCTED IN MATABELELAND

Alleged Government Atrocities

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 30 Jan 84 p 3

[Text] LONDON. — Many thousands are now believed to have died during a "reign of terror" conducted by Zimbabwean Government forces to suppress dissidents in Matabeleland.

The Sunday Telegraph reported in Britain yesterday that in the campaign against the dissidents women were bayoneted and corpses were left unburied in bush villages.

Reports that the death toll has exceeded 20 000 and that the purges, which began 18 months ago, have started up once more are likely to prove deeply embarrassing to Britain as a staunch supporter of the Mugabe government.

Evidence of the alleged atrocities, and protests from leading Zimbabwe politicians in London, are being aired as Mr Mugabe's Information Minister, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, spends a week in Britain as guest of the government.

His trip has been planned partly to try to improve Zimbabwe's tarnished image and he will defend his leader's policies at a news conference tomorrow.

A state of emergency has been renewed in Zimbabwe as 3 000 men of the notorious North Korean trained 5th Brigade move through drought-stricken areas of Matabeleland, backed up by

thousands of national army militiamen and several hundred policemen.

In an attempt to counter the disquiet both inside and outside the country, a government committee of inquiry has been set up to examine the accusations against the 5th Brigade but has been overwhelmed by crowds of witnesses with stories of killings, rape and torture.

A letter sent to London by one of the white residents of Matabeleland, who asked not to be identified, said: "Mr Mugabe is trying to set up a one party state at any price and destroy opposition.

"There are countless people who have witnessed the terrible wrath of the 5th Brigade. I have verbatim reports of pregnant women who were bayoneted in the stomach, and multiple deaths.

"People were refused permission on pain of death to bury their dead or leave after the victims had been shot down in cold blood.

"Throughout Matabeleland corpses lay rotting in the middle of busy villages. People had to turn their eyes away from the bloated carcasses of their relatives as the dogs fed upon them. Meanwhile Matabeleland remains sealed off from the Press."

The Rev Ndabaningi Sithole, a veteran political leader and founder of the Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu) party, said in London

yesterday: "All political opposition is now being crushed and I expect Mr Mugabe to set up his one party state by the middle of this year, the instrument of dictatorship and tyranny.

"Between 20 000 and 25 000 people have been killed in Matabeleland so far and hun-

dreds of people are in detention under the special security powers. The judiciary is being undermined and both whites and blacks are streaming out of the country."

Mr Joshua Nkomo, leader of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (Zapu), has also been in London writing a book. Before leaving for home last week he protested at the continued killings. His party estimates the toll could have topped 30 000.

Mr Mugabe's spokesmen were repeating last week that the Matabeleland operations were to put down armed dissidents and that only small numbers had been killed.

Reported Atrocities by Dissidents

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 2 Feb 84 p 9

[Text] HARARE. — The Zimbabwe Government is concerned at "the marked increase in killings, rape mutilations and torture of innocent and defenceless people by dissident elements" in Matabeleland and the midlands, a government spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman said that, since January 1983, more than 120 people had been killed, 23 mutilated and 47 raped in parts of Matabeleland North and the Midlands.

Most of the victims were government employees, Zanu (PF) officials and supporters and ordinary civilians. They were killed, or maimed, under callous and gruesome conditions, he said.

One man was buried alive, a man and wife were herded into their hut

and burned, a widow was bayoneted to death and the "bandits" set fire to her huts in one of which a three-year-old was burnt to death. One man was ordered by attackers to club his neighbour to death.

Most killings were accompanied by assaults on the victims family

"These atrocities, which bear the hallmark of the Selous Scouts tactics employed during the liberation war, consist of cutting off the victims' ears, nose, lips and genitals" the spokesman said.

"This spate of banditry committed by Selous Scouts — trained super-Zapu elements and backed by South Africa — marks a new phase in the dissidents' strategy to instil fear," he said.
— Sapa.

CSO: 3400/632

MINISTER SEES 'FAR MORE BALANCED COVERAGE' OF NATION IN UK MEDIA

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 1 Feb 84 p 1

[Text]

FAR more balanced coverage of Zimbabwe in the UK media was forecast in London yesterday by Cde Nathan Shamuyarira, Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications.

He told a Press conference at Zimbabwe House at the end of a week's official visit that his most important objective had been accomplished — "To put the record straight on Zimbabwe."

To this end, he had had a series of meetings with editors, heads of news agencies, and the radio and television services, reports ARNOLD RAPHAEL.

As a result of these confidential exchanges, he had received undertakings of greater objectivity in the treatment of news from Zimbabwe, "greater appreciation of the context in which news should be treated."

The Minister said he had given the media chiefs a perspective of the present position in Zimbabwe, that the country had been "run on racial lines for nearly a century", that the present Government had inherited a very difficult situation after a bloody civil war, and that the harmonisation of Shona and Ndebele and of the whites had been a major achievement.

"The vast majority of all sections of the population has accepted the new political and social order. There will be no civil war or mass exodus of whites," he said.

The prophets of doom in Fleet Street had been confounded. Where a "distorted picture has been painted of Zimbabwe" he was now confident after his London meetings that the country would be seen in a better light.

Cde Shamuyarira said that contrary to what he had written, the Rev Ndabasingi Sithole would not be arrested should he return to Zimbabwe from London, any more than Dr Joshua Nkomo was.

NATION, BOTSWANA SET UP BODY TO DEAL WITH ILLEGAL BORDER CROSSING

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 27 Jan 84 p 1

[Excerpt] ZIMBABWE and Botswana have set up a joint security commission to deal with illegal border crossing, the Minister of Foreign Affairs said yesterday.

Cde Witness Mangwende told a Press briefing in Harare that officials of both countries were meeting on a routine basis.

He was asked to comment on reports that a number of dissidents, believed to be Zimbabweans, had in recent weeks been captured in Botswana and handed over to Zimbabwean authorities.

"There is an on going exercise between us and Botswana following the understanding between us," he said. "There is the joint security commission between us, so we discuss at really official levels," he said.

BROUGHT

He confirmed that a number of people had been handed over to Zimbabwe by Botswana authorities but said this was handled as a normal day-to-day activity which was not a matter of diplomatic negotiations.

Previous discussions, according to Government announcements had been at a Ministerial level, with senior Security, Defence and Information Cabinet Ministers from both countries.

The meetings had followed incidents along the Botswana-Zimbabwe border involving crossings by dissidents. One Zimbabwean soldier was shot dead by Botswana troops in the border zone.

Cde Mangwende denied that Zimbabwe had asked Botswana for the right to conduct "hot pursuit" operations into that country.

Instead, Botswana had been asked by Zimbabwe to ensure that dissidents should not be allowed to wander freely but rather should be arrested and Zimbabwe informed of the capture.

Cde Mangwende said Zimbabwe would not condemn the current talks between South Africa and Mozambique.

"If these talks bring peace to the region, what's wrong with that?" he asked.

It was South Africa — through the so-called Mozambique Resistance Movement that was fighting Mozambique, he said. "So we understand why they are talking. We also understand why Angola is talking to the South Africans."

IDC MANAGER SPECIFIES FUNDS SPENT BAILING OUT COMPANIES

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 30 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] About \$6 000 000 was spent by the Industrial Development Corporation in the last 15 months bailing out companies adversely affected by the economic depression, the organisation's general manager, Cde Cornelius Sanyanga, said last night.

Interviewed on the ZTV's The Nation programme, Cde Sanyanga said the IDC, a parastatal in which the Government held 80 percent shares, had helped companies which found themselves in financial and management problems and had approached the Government for assistance. Some big industrial companies had also been rescued by the IDC, he said.

In the last two years, the organisation had not given any loans to the assisted companies but had asked for an equity interest in them.

In the last two years, the organisation had not given any loans to the assisted companies but had asked for an equity interest in them.

"Rescues are not necessarily outstandingly viable propositions—there are other reasons why we go into these companies like maintaining jobs or retaining technology of particular industry."

Asked why the IDC had stopped giving loans to new companies, Cde Sanyanga said: "If we are going to own enterprises, I don't see how it is relevant to continue to disburse loans in companies we don't hold an equity."

"Two years ago we were asked by the Government not to disburse loans but funds in the form of equity."

The IDC was looking into possibilities of manufacturing various imported products which were made from raw materials locally available.

"If we have the raw materials all we are looking for is the technology to manufacture the products."

"We will be involved in reducing the amount of petroleum imported into this country by producing sugar which will result in the process of ethanol, to maintain the current ratio of petrol and ethanol," said Cde Sanyanga.

His organisation was also trying to revive certain products which used to be manufactured locally. One example was the pressure paraffin stove and "this will soon be on the market".

"There has been so much talk about the wastage of woodlands, and by manufacturing this stove, it will help reduce this wastage.

"There are some chemical products currently being imported which can be manufactured here," he said.

On the lack of investment in Zimbabwe, Cde Sanyanga did not think investors were afraid of nationalisation but of the economic depression. They were not coming into Zimbabwe for the same reason they were not going into other countries, he pointed out.

All managerial positions within the IDC were held by blacks. In 1982, there was only one black in a managerial position. Most whites had left to go into the private sector while others had left the country.--Own Corr.

CSO: 3400/634

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM IN MATABELELAND RURAL AREAS ANNOUNCED

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 27 Jan 84 p 1

[Article by Joyce Sikane]

[Text] A MAJOR programme involving the construction of 68 secondary schools in Matabeleland's rural areas at an initial cost of \$1 496 000 and eight more, mostly in urban areas, has been announced.

The first stage in the construction programme must be completed by June this year, a senior official in the regional office of the Ministry of Education said in Bulawayo yesterday.

While the construction is underway, about 70 primary schools throughout Matabeleland will be upgraded to accommodate satellite Form 1 classes for the estimated 3 000 unplaced pupils. The Upper Top classes are scheduled to open on February 1, the date all Form 1 classes start in the country.

The Matabeleland regional director, Cde Eban Kawadza said each district council received \$22 000 to build and complete before June this year three blocks of two classrooms and an office, that will constitute the first phase.

TENDER

In the meantime, the Ministry of Construction would call for tender the construction of eight secondary schools. Four of these would be built in Luvuvu, Nkulumane, Entumbane and Pumula.

Two Government secondary schools will be built

at Lukhosi, Hwange and one each at Insiza and Nkayi, he said.

Because contractors used hired labour, each of the eight Government secondary schools would cost more than an equivalent number built partly by voluntary labour of the communities under district councils.

In urban areas, sites for the schools had already been allocated by the local authorities. Building contractors would be given six months to complete the first phase, he said.

On Wednesday District Council chairmen and their executive education officers attended a meeting with regional Ministry of Education authorities to discuss the physical planning of the construction of the 68 secondary schools.

IMPLEMENT

They were told to allocate 25 ha of land, enough for the school building and the setting up of education with production facilities. The siting of the school should be central to the majority of the population which it would serve and to facilities like water, roads and health.

All relevant Government sectors in each district would have to be consulted. Once the site had been approved by the local authority it would have to be fenced and construction of the school started immediately.

"District councils with sound infrastructures and active communities will be able to implement the plans immediately," said Cde Kawadza.

Building inspectors will pass the completed structures before money for the remaining phases is released, he said.

On Wednesday February 1, classes will be opened at the following primary schools in the various districts. Binga (2 streams) Siyabuya, Siyansudu, Tinde.

Beitbridge (2 streams) Chasvingo, Sweteki and (3 streams) for Chamnangena.

Hlangabeza — (3 streams) Hlambabazi, Majiji.

Hwange — (2 streams) Dopota, Makwa, Detema. Neluswe (4 streams). Lupote and Hwange (6 streams).

Lupane — (1 stream) Sigonde. (2 streams) Lupane, Gomoza, Lupaka, Mkhombo, Dandanda, Dongamuzi, Daluka.

Bulalima Mangwe — (2 streams) Butje, Tshonkwa, Bezu, Malalume, Izimnyama, Sangulube, Gampu, (3 streams) Gala Tokwana, Kahlu.

Gwanda — (2 streams) Bethel, Garanyemba, Mhwali, Tshanyaukwe. (3 streams) Kafusi, Lushonkwe. (4 streams) Nkashe.

Matopos — Seula, Ratanzana, Maribeka, Golole. (2 streams), Tobwe, St Sebastain, St Annes, (3 streams).

Insiza — Mbaulu, Gwatemba, Gwabala, (2 streams). Sidziba (3 streams). Filabusi (6 streams).

ARMY SCHOOL

Umzingwane — Dhula, Esikhoveni (2 streams). Bezha (3 streams).

Nkayi — Sivalo, Mateme, Guwe, Sivono (2 streams) Tsheli, Mpakama, Tohwe (3 streams). There will also be three Form I classes run by the Government at Nkayi Village proper.

Tsholotsho — Nemane, Kapane, Kambala Mpaneriba (2 streams). Jimila, Somahura, Dinyane (3 streams). Tshabanda (4 streams).

Cde Kawadza said the army in Bulawayo will also get one secondary school.

CSO: 3400/634

MINISTER SAYS LAW MUST DISCRIMINATE IN FAVOR OF WOMEN

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 27 Jan 84 p 9

[Text] It is not enough to end discrimination against women, the law must discriminate in favour of women, said the Minister of Community Development and Women's Affairs, yesterday.

Addressing the Public Services Association meeting on societal attitudes a hindrance to women's advancement, Cde Teurai Ropa Nhongo said: "Four years after Independence and after the Government has clearly stated its intention to remove all barriers be they legal, social, economic or cultural that hinder women's participation in development, the following sad factors still exist.

- Women have no rights to land, to property, to custody and guardianship of their children and to inheritance.

- Married women workers are taxed heavily because their income is considered to be an additional income of the husband.

BEATEN

- Women can be beaten by their husbands and have little or no protection from the police because they do not interfere in domestic affairs.

- Women can be evicted from their municipal houses and left homeless with their children because the houses belong to the husbands.

- Women were publicly made scapegoats for social evils when men were sometimes equally to blame for that evil, for example baby-dumping and the recent

round up of women during the operation clean up to rid the towns of squatters, beggars and prostitutes.

- Married women could also not enrol with medical aid societies on behalf of their children because it was considered as their husbands' responsibility.

- The private and public sectors still discriminated against women in terms of promotion, advancement and recruitment. Maternity

leave was still unpaid and women faced hostile attitudes from their male colleagues at work.

Cde Nhongo also said that Zimbabwe had not yet acceded to the UN convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.

Cde Nhongo said within the context of Zimbabwean society, cultural value and beliefs were to a certain extent responsible for negative attitudes towards women.

She said that these were a major stumbling block not only to women's advancement but to the national development.

Cde Nhongo said education, which was regarded as a vital tool for the participation in all channels of development, excluded women.

This was because of traditional beliefs in Zimbabwe regarding girls' education in Zimbabwe which

was reinforced by the double discrimination they faced as blacks and as women, Cde Nhongo said.

In Zimbabwe 66 percent of all illiterates are women.

Though the Government had partially satisfied the problem for future generations by providing free primary education for all, in formal education the curriculae had to be changed for sexist stereotypes to be removed.

She said that the constraints on women's advancement in Zimbabwe had been partly to do with the lack of co-operation received from other Ministries.

She said "It must always be remembered that the attainment of equality for women is the task of society as a whole. It can only be achieved through a joint struggle by all social forces

as part of the general struggle for a society in which men, women and children can live in equality, freedom and prosperity".

In the process, outdated concepts and prejudices on the part of both men and women regarding the role women have to play in society must be eliminated, Cde Nhongo said.

CONTRIBUTE

By rearing children women contribute to the labour force of the nations and in rearing them women take up the role of being the first teachers of the

nation. In cooking and looking after the family as a whole women play a great part perpetuating a healthy nation. The emancipation of the women therefore, has a direct effect on the way a child is brought up, she said.

The Minister said while women master skills related to their traditional roles by which they have enabled the poorest families to survive and increase in numbers, society did not show its recognition of that contribution in national statistics nor did it indicate what would happen without that contribution.

It is pathetic how planners ignore the contribution of their own mothers, sisters and wives — the contributions which made them what they are, said Cde Nhongo.

The situation had been compounded by the fact that women were often financially dependent on their husbands and that the work they did in their homes was not given the recognition that it deserved and was regarded as unproductive work.

The Minister said it is only through housework that labour power is both reproduced and maintained and that the unpaid domestic work of women contributes to the material existence and reproduction of all societies. — Own Corr.

CSO: 3400/634

MINISTER ASKS ALL CIVIL AVIATION PERSONNEL TO REMAIN IN POSTS

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 1 Feb 84 p 1

[Text]

THE Minister of Transport, Cde Herbert Ushewokunze, yesterday issued an urgent appeal to all personnel employed in the civil aviation field to stay in their posts.

The appeal, he told Parliament, applied to those planning to retire or resign.

Cde Ushewokunze said the Civil Aviation Department faced a shortage of skilled manpower.

Experienced aviation personnel were leaving for the private sector and the department was facing difficulties recruiting replacements.

Salaries paid by the department, he said, had also failed to attract foreign personnel to join the badly hit aviation engineering side.

To overcome the problem, he said, the Ministry had formulated two strategies.

Cde Ushewokunze was responding to the report on his Ministry tabled before Parliament last week by the estimates committee.

He said the Ministry had undertaken an exercise to ascertain the extent of personnel shortfall and the implication of not having immediate replacement for any of these posts.

"It is in this context that I would like to appeal to all personnel employed in the civil aviation field. They will do the nation a great service if they could stay in their posts, even those planning to retire or resign," he said.

He explained that one strategy the Ministry had was to recruit foreign personnel to function as trainers of Zimbabwean nationals.

This, he said, had been adopted to complement the programme of sending trainees to study abroad.

The second strategy was to build a civil aviation training centre which would centralise the training of civil aviation personnel.

He said the main hurdle was to find \$14 000 000 needed for the centre.

Cde Ushewokunze also announced measures to make the National Railways of Zimbabwe a permanently profitable organisation.

He told Parliament his Ministry intended to tighten and review regulations regarding the control of expenditure so economies could be instituted.

Given the nature of the goods carried by the railway, NRZ operations had "left us in the red," he said.

Some of the measures planned, he said, would be to contain costs especially with a view to conserving foreign currency.

It was also intended to tighten and review regulations regarding rail and tariffs to bring more revenue to the NRZ.

More stringent control would be exercised in the recruitment of personnel.

Another cost saving measure would be to move all traffic on offer to the NRZ during normal week days so trains could be reduced over weekends and on public holidays. This, he said, would reduce overtime and other payments made by the NRZ.

Regarding fare evasion in Botswana, Cde Ushewokunze said the Ministry could not quantify the amount of money lost, but the committee's estimate based on "millions of dollars", he noted, were "a bit of an exaggeration."

"What is more serious," Cde Ushewokunze said, is the threat of violence faced by ticket issuers and conductors on this line." — Ziana.

CROP FAILURE REPORTEDLY SPREADING TO ALL PROVINCES

Latest Agritex Crop Report

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 28 Jan 84 p 1

[Text]

REPORTS of almost total crop failure have spread to all provinces with the maize crop being the hardest hit and only prolonged heavy rains can save the day, says the latest Agritex crop report.

In the report for the fortnight ended yesterday, the acting chief of crop production in the Department of Agricultural Technical and Extension Services, Cde D. Ncube, says: "We hope and pray that tropical Cyclone Domona will do the trick." Hot and dry conditions continued to affect all the provinces during this reporting period and high evapo-transpiration had been a common factor. A very few isolated falls of rain, often of small amounts, had been reported.

"Reports of almost total crop failure have spread to all provinces with the maize crop being the hardest hit. The early planted maize is pollinating in very dry conditions and this gives little hope of successful fertilisation. Yields are

definitely going to be depressed.

"Last planted maize is wilting," wrote Cde Ncube, "and if we do not get rains now, the crop could be written off.

"The tobaccos are also being affected by this dry spell in the form of a sun scorch. This could cause some curing problems.

"Sorghum is beginning to show signs of wilting. Cotton is still holding out but is bound to be affected if this dry spell continues.

CONDITION

"Veld is becoming poorer and poorer in most provinces with some provinces reporting the wilting of the veld. Livestock seem to be in fair condition throughout but this situation will change soon if the veld condition does not improve. Water is beginning to dwindle rapidly with many rivers not flowing, many dams are less than 30 per cent full."

Cde Ncube's report also dealt with each of the eight provinces individually looking at each crop, the state of water supplies, condition of livestock and the state of waer supplies.

In Mashonaland Central, only Guruve had satisfactory rain. Topping and reaping of the flue-cured tobacco crop had started. Maize planted in November was tassling and may be

seriously affected by the dry spell except for Guruve and Mvurwi. The late crop was being top dressed but was also drying up.

Stands of cotton were reasonable and the veld was adequate for grazing. Flue-cured tobacco was wilting in Mashonaland West but crops in parts of Doma and Karoi were good. Early maize was pollinating with little chance of fertilisation and later crops were wilting and had collapsed in some communal lands.

Doma and Hurungwe had better chances of having a good crop and this was holding out but the bulk of the veld on commercial farms was low and practically nil in some communal lands.

Both early and late maize crops in the Midlands had been drastically affected and yields would be very poor, in some areas late crops might yield something if rains fall within a week.

Cotton, although suffering, was hanging on and all areas were short of grazing except in Gokwe, Sanyati and the central watershed. "In the south the communal areas have pathetic conditions. Stock losses continue in the south."

In Mashonaland East the dryland flue-cured tobacco was badly scorched and generally poorly developed with much of the crop wil-

ting. Irrigated crops were doing well.

"The dryland maize crop is generally critical. Most stands are badly wilted and pollination is very poor. Rains are needed in 10 days to save the crop. About half the communal crop has been written off and extremely low yields are expected. Cotton is under stress in all areas and the veld is in poor condition generally with no bulk.

"All maize in Matabeleland North is wilting and the crop will be a write off if no rain falls within seven days. Cotton is doing well and the veld is gradually losing condition.

"Livestock is in good condition but shortage of grazing might change this.

"About 60 percent of the dryland maize in Southern Matabeleland south has failed and rain is urgently needed to save the late plantings.

SURVIVE

"Grazing is very poor in most communal areas. Livestock is in fair to good condition in Masvingo. The first crop of maize is a write off but the later planting could survive. Cotton is fair and fair yields will be obtained if it rains. The veld is generally going down and wilting and livestock is fair generally and poor in overstocked areas.

In Manicaland, both irrigated and dryland flue-cured crops are badly sun-scorched. Irrigated maize crops are fair to good but dryland crops on commercial farms are drying out, with the potential yield reduced by 30 percent.

In communal lands, most stands are wilting and the potential yield is down to 60 percent. Streak virus has done a lot of damage in most communal areas. Veld is drying up and livestock is poor to fair in dry areas and fair to good in wetter areas of the communal lands." — Own Corr.

CFU President's Statement

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 1 Feb 84 p 1

[Text]

THIS season's maize crop is a total write-off and large numbers of cattle will either be moved into feedlots or sold, the president of the Commercial Farmers' Union, Mr John Laurie, said in Harare yesterday.

"We have to accept the fact that even if we receive enough rain from this time onwards, there has been a heavy irrevocable loss already especially for the maize crop.

He said it was difficult to assess the loss "but farmers have obviously lost hundreds of millions of dollars invested in their crops".

Areas to the south of Harare, the entire Masvingo province, Matabeleland, the Midlands and parts of Mashonaland had been severely affected by the drought.

The present dry spell was now affecting the entire country, Mr Laurie added.

The north of Harare, which two weeks ago had

looked quite good, was now in dire need of rain.

"If the rain is not forthcoming very shortly, losses in these major crop areas will be enormous. The maize crop has been hit most by the dry spell," he said.

If the country received rainfall in the next few days, some of the crops might be saved.

He said other crops, such as tobacco and cotton, were better able to sustain themselves in dry conditions and given enough rain from now on, would not be too badly affected, although yield might be low.

The CFU would assess the drought situation, taking into account the need for water and food for both human consumption and livestock, and would try to find ways and means by which farmers could recover as quickly as possible, he said. — Ziana.

CSO: 3400/644

RAINS NEEDED TO SAVE MAIZE, TOBACCO, COTTON CROPS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 30 Jan 84 p 4

[Article by Robin Drew]

[Text] Zimbabwe needs rain — lots of it and soon. The key question facing the country is whether it has enough maize stockpiled to feed its people before the next harvest. And, despite expectations of good tobacco and cotton crops, these too might fail if rain does not fall soon.

HARARE — The ominous spectre of a third successive year of drought hangs over Zimbabwe with large areas of the country already facing a desperate situation.

But in the major cropping areas, where the bulk of the staple diet, maize, is produced, there is still hope that the rains will save the day.

Mr John Laurie, leader of the 4 500 commercial farmers in Zimbabwe, said: "The situation in the cropping areas is very serious but can be retrieved if we get rain within the next 10 days and if they continue into April."

Mr Laurie, who has made extensive tours of the country, said the situation north of Harare was not too bad, though there were dry parts in this area which were in a critical state.

To the south of Harare, however, the overall picture was grim with the situation deteriorating rapidly.

"In the Masvingo, Mwenze and Buffalo Range farming districts, farmers, particularly cattle ranchers, are facing a disastrous situation. It is as bad as it was this time last year when

Zimbabwe experienced its worst drought in living memory."

Apart from a few pockets, ranchers are under extreme pressure with cattle already turning to browsing to stay alive.

This is in spite of the fact that in the Mwenze district, for example, ranchers have destocked to 50 percent of the animals they had at this time last year.

Mr Laurie said that in Matabeleland the situation in the Gwanda and west Nicholson districts was critical. Very little rain had fallen and there was practically no grass.

There was a deteriorating picture west of Bulawayo in the Marula ranching area.

Mr Laurie had received reports of a potentially very serious situation from the midlands of Zimbabwe where crops are drying up.

The bright spots on the agricultural scene are tobacco and cotton with crops looking good at the moment. But rain is needed if the expected increased yields are to be realised.

The key question here at the moment is whether the country has enough maize in stock to feed the people until the next harvest.

Mr Laurie agreed that the question of adequate stocks seemed it could develop into an "11th-hour situation."

"Hopefully we will have enough to carry us through to the end of April. Drying maize which was planted early can be a costly process, but we should be able to start delivery by the middle of April," said Mr Laurie.

Farmers are hoping for incentives to help cover the costs of early deliveries, but no announcement has yet been made.

He did not know of any plans to import maize at this stage. The government has given assurances that stocks will last, but has declined to reveal the current size of the stockpile.

There were chaotic scenes in December when maize supplies to the millers were cut in an effort to conserve stocks and mealie meal ran short in many areas of Zimbabwe.

The government was then forced to increase allocations to the milling companies.

Drought relief feeding schemes which had been stopped were also resumed.

Temperatures soaring into the 30s have added to the concern about dwindling water supplies.

CSO: 3400/632

FIVE PERCENT SALARY INCREASE FOR ALL CIVIL SERVANTS GRANTED

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 1 Feb 84 p 1

[Text]

THE Government has awarded a general salary increase of five percent for all civil servants with effect from January 1, 1984.

The announcement was made in the House of Assembly yesterday by the Minister of State responsible for the Public Service, Mr Chris Andersen, who said civil servants with specialist skills and abilities in shortage areas would be paid a special allowance of 15 percent, which would not be pensionable.

Mr Andersen said the exercise was independent of the general review the Government would carry out "in due course".

The public service had "lagged badly" behind cost of living increases and wages paid in the private sector in recent years, the Minister pointed out.

Mr Andersen said the effect of this was that several civil servants, mainly those with particular skills, left to join the private sector.

JEOPARDISED

"It has been difficult, and in some cases, impossible to replace those who have left because of the unattractive salaries offered.

"The loss of such personnel has jeopardised the efficiency of the civil service and its ability to meet development programmes and sustain the services expected of it."

The Minister said not only would the civil serv-

ice be jeopardised but the private sector too if the inability of the civil service was prejudiced.

Mr Andersen added that the unattractive salaries in the civil service increased the risk of public servants seeking "unlawful alternative means of supplementing their income".

The Minister told the Assembly economic circumstances had not improved but savings had been made within the budget which had enabled the award of the five percent increase and the 15 percent special allowance. The increases would cost the Government \$25 000 000.

He said the Government was concerned with those, in the lower income areas and the increase would therefore not be less than \$10 per month for people in that group.

It had been decided, on the recommendation of the Public Service Commission, that conditions of service of those in specialist areas where there were shortages of manpower should be improved.

"There are a limited number of officers who fall into that category related to the size of the civil service as a whole.

"The recommendations take the form of a special allowance of about 15 per-

cent of salary in some cases, and regarding or improved promotion prospects in others."

Mr Andersen said the special allowance would be reviewed in due course by the PSC to consider whether it should be pensionable.

Asked by the Republican Front member for Chegutu/Kadoma, Mr P. K. van der Byl, why the Government was increasing salaries of those in the lower income group where there had been no apparent defection, Mr Andersen said he was surprised the RF MP was not aware that it was those in the lower income group who were hardest hit by rising costs.

He also told the Government chief whip, (S) Naison Muroyiwa, that the PSC had not addressed itself to the issue of rectifying pay structure anomalies in the teaching service.

"That is not the issue to which the present exercise is being addressed," he said.

He added however, that teachers and nurses would

benefit from the five per cent increase.

Asked whether he thought the 15 percent special allowance would succeed in halting the brain drain, Mr Andersen said he hoped it would retain the intended staff.

But the decision as to whether or not to remain in the civil service, he said, would depend entirely on the individuals concerned.

APPRECIATE

"I hope the civil service, overall, in particular those who have not qualified for treatment as specialists will appreciate that it is in these areas in particular which maintain the viability of the civil service," he said.

"If these services are lost then the civil service as a whole would be sadly impoverished," he said.

He said the exercise relating to special allowance servants whose salaries did was to try and retain civil not equate with those in the private sector. — Ziara

CSO: 3400/644

MINISTER SAYS NATION HAS ENOUGH WATER TO LAST UNTIL RAINY SEASON

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 27 Jan 84 p 1

[Text] ZIMBABWE has enough water to last until the next rainy season provided existing quantities are used 'sparingly' the Minister of State for Water Resources and Development, Cde Cephas Msipa, said yesterday.

In an interview, Cde Msipa said that as long as people realised that water had become a scarce commodity and took all the necessary measures to conserve water, "we will make it to the next rainy season".

"The Government will continue to give drought relief to the drought stricken areas and alleviate suffering in the light of the impending drought," the Minister said.

On the measures being taken to counter yet another drought, the Minister said that water rationing in the main centres was now in force.

"In the case of the major dams primarily intended for agriculture the amount of irrigation water released will be restricted so as to leave a reserve in the dams at the end of this year in order to meet the primary requirements of people and livestock in the vicinity of these dams," the Minister said.

He said that existing surface water supplies should be conserved until heavy rains fell and added that additional water would be provided from ground water through boreholes and wells.

The Minister said that there was a total of 68 drilling rigs in the country which were sinking about 90 boreholes every month, operating directly under the Ministry.

He added that there were in addition to his Ministry's projects, donor funded projects operating in Masvingo, Manicaland and the Midlands provinces.

"The European Economic Community accelerated drought relief programme for Masvingo Province has sunk 120 boreholes already with 3 high speed rigs. The target is 390 boreholes," he said.

In Manicaland there was the British Overseas Development Association programme with five drilling rigs, while a Japanese aided drilling programme for 100 boreholes in the Midlands would start later this year, the Minister said.

He said, however, a bigger problem would lie in providing sufficient water for other purposes, chiefly agriculture.

"The agricultural industry produces foodstuffs and valuable foreign exchange earnings from export crops. In the absence of rain, agriculture production is largely dependent on irrigation from surface water supplies," he said.

He added that existing surface water for irrigation purposes was "diminishing fast".

"If heavy rain does not fall this year, then all that can be done to try and maintain agricultural production is to develop groundwater supplies in favourable areas," he said.
— Ziana.

ZIMBABWE

BRIEFS

CARBINE MANUFACTURED--Bulawayo Armoury has produced a semi-automatic carbine in 9mm Parabellum calibre. Called the TS-111, it has a wooden stock and two pistol-type handgrips. It is 71 cm long (barrel length 21.5cm) and weighs 3.175 kg. Three magazines are available, with a capacity of 13, 20 or 30 rounds. Rate of fire is 72 rounds a minute. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE in English No 40 Dec 83 p 26]

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